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RACIAL PROBLEMS IN ASIA

by

D. N. MAJUMDAR

and

IRAWATI KARVE

INDIAN COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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RACE AND REASON

A discussion of race problems must be preceded by a proper knowledge of the laws of heredity, while any account of modern genetic principles in their application to medicine and the social sciences must not ignore the race problem as such. But the treatment of race problems as is usually done by scientists, not to speak of laymen or politicians, has clouded rather than cleared our understanding of the race factor in our social relations. Even men of science, who are accredited leaders of thought and practice in their own specialised branches, often behave like laymen when they overstep the frontiers of their particular branch of science. Much of the pseudo-scientific dogmas about heredity and environment, race and racial welfare have been the direct results of their unbalanced statements based on insufficient or even incompetent knowledge of scientific facts. Truth certainly cannot be advanced by denying the existence of large groups of mankind 'characterised more or less by distinctive physical traits'. Neither is it served by emphasising taxonomic differences or suggesting as some do, that the races of mankind are 'species' as they have originated from different 'species of apemen'.

Slight metrical differences, a little difference in the shade of skin colour, or the texture of the hair have been seized upon by anthropologists to distinguish races and sub-races. Coon in Europe, Guenther and Eickstead in Germany, Ronald B. Dixon in America, Chi Li in China, Ruggeri in Italy and others have created a large number of races and sub-races on the basis of slight differences. The reality of the race situation today, as it was even in the palæolithic age, is admixture, blends and combinations, and no nation or so-called race, today, can be taken to represent any ethnic type in the sense physical anthropology understands it.

What is Race?

The use of the word *race* in scientific literature, in a zoological sense, is credited to Buffon whose six-fold classification of mankind is said to be based on rigid marshalling of available scientific evidence on race relationships. Huxley defined race as a zoological term. Race today is understood more in a genetic sense. Genetic characters are those which depend on *genes* and do not vary under the stress of external circumstances. In recent years, genetic

analysis of human racial differences is restricted to the determination of blood groups and their frequencies in different geographical localities. A large mass of blood groups data exists on the basis of which various theories of race relationships have been suggested. The four blood groups *O, A, B* & *AB* are found to have a capricious distribution. Yet it is possible to map out the migration of blood and if we correlate the group frequencies with the history of human dispersion from pre-historic times onward, we may get some explanation of race movements and stabilisation of race types in particular geographical regions.

Bernstein advocated a theory in which he claimed an original pure race, in which neither A nor B agglutinogen existed. This was the *R*-race. A *B*-race has arisen from this *R*-race somewhere in Asia, and an *A*-race had its centre of characterisation somewhere in Europe. If this theory could be proved, then probably it would have laid the foundation of a genetic classification of races. Ruggles Gates has reinforced this hypothesis by his mutation theory, which claims *A* and *B* as independent mutations from *O*. Statisticians, however, doubt the validity of the mutation hypothesis, as the present frequencies of four groups would have required at least a quarter of a million years if not more. Earlier investigations among isolated and peripheral people had shown the absence of the four blood groups, particularly among the Amerindians, but later research detected concentration of all the groups in the human race, and even anthropoid apes are found to possess all the four blood groups in varying proportions.

A racial classification on the basis of serological data was made by Ottenberg (1925) who divided the people of the world into six 'strikingly different types viz., (1) European, (2) Intermediate, (3) Hunan, (4) Indo-Manchurians, (5) Africa-South-Asiatic and (6) Pacific-American'. Snyder found seven types on the basis of genic frequencies or p.q. factors: (1) European, (2) Intermediate, (3) Hunan, (4) Indo-Manchurian, (5) Africo-Malayasian, (6) Pacific-American and (7) Australian. In all these classifications the European has been found to belong to a distinct serological type due to the large incidence of *A* and little of *B*, while the Indo-Manchurian group is distinguished from other groups for its large *B* percentage. If both *A* and *B* are mutations from *O*, the serological evidence cannot account for racial differences. Although a large percentage of *B* is found among the various castes in India and its incidence increases eastward: the Paniyans, a proto-

Australoid tribe have 60% *A* and 20% *B*, while most of the primitive tribes in India show comparatively small incidence of *B*. A bio-chemical index was worked out by Hirszfelds. The Europeans were found to possess a higher bio-chemical index than most other races. In the case of most of them the index was found to be above 2·5. Below is given the bio-chemical indices of the various castes and tribes in India (All authors).

Bio-Chemical Index

Above 2		Between 2 and 1		Below 1	
Konyak Nagas	3·1	Khasis	1·0	Bengali Kayasthas	·83
Paniyans	4·1	Anglo-Indians	1·7	Mahisyas of Bengal	·59
Angami Nagas	2·8	Bengali-		Bengal-Muslims Urban	·96
Lusheis	2·25	Brahmans	1·0	Do. (Rural)	·65
		Khasas of the		Bagdis of Bengal	·75
		Himalayas	1·05	U.P. Kayasthas	·71
		Korwas	1·46	„ Chamars	·54
		Bhoksas	1·86	„ Doms	·62
		Mundas	1·02	„ Tharus	·63
		Chenchus	1·73	„ Criminal Bhatus	·64
		Nairs	1·50	„ „ Karwals	·65
				„ Shias	·78
				„ Sunnis	·66
				„ Kshattriyas	·85
				„ Brahmins	·93
				„ Kurmis	·68
				Todas	·63
				Rajputs	·89
				Pathan	·94
				Maria Gonds	·82
				Marhattas	·83
				Syrian Christians	·94

The bio-chemical index calculated from Indian data does not justify any classification of the races which puts the Europeans into a distinct serological category, for the only groups whose serological index was found to be about 2·5 were Paniyans, Konyak Nagas and the Angami Nagas. In other words, the Mongoloid and the Australoid or proto-Australoid tribes, fall under Hirszfelds' Europeans types; the Lusheis, the Chenchus, the Bhoksas, the Karwas, the Anglo-Indians, the Nairs fall between 1·0 and 1·9 and the rest of the groups have an index of 1 and below. Nothing

therefore can be derived from the distribution of the bio-chemical index. The chosen limits are arbitrary. A modified race index was calculated by Wellisch on the basis of *gene* frequencies but the results did not instil greater optimism than that provided by Hirszfelds' index. Ottenberg found the blood groups remarkably stable where there was little or no racial admixture. The high incidence of *O* among the peripheral or isolated people has been regarded by Snyder as an indication that 'the majority of the peoples with a proportion of *O* exceeding 50% are island peoples, or peoples living in regions more or less isolated, and so physically less liable to mixture'. The variation of the *O* percentages in India as found among the various samples investigated is given below.

O in the samples investigated
(All authors)

Chamars	36·30	Mundas	33·33	Angami Nagas	46 06
Kayasthas	36·0	Chenchus	37·00	Lusheis	32·63
Domas	36·0	Paniyans	20·00	Lonyaks	45·70
Shias	35·91	Maria Gonds	28·46	Khasis	35·17
Brahmins	34·30	Todas	29·50	Anglo-Indians	37·28
Muslims		Black Jews	73·60	Bengali-Brahmans	35·20
(general)	32·58	Nairs	38·80	„ Kayasthas	32·00
Khasas	30·67	Syrian	36·40	„ Mahishyas	32·50
Kshattriyas	30·83	Christian	—	„ Muslims	23·33
Kurmis	34·30	Mahrattas	29·25	Muslims (Urban)	33·10
Bhoksas	30·80	Rajput	28·80	Bagdis of Bengal	29 93
Karwas	25·83	Pathan	29·30		
Bhatus	27·48	Jat	33 20		
Tharus	27·10				
Khattris	32·00				

The general conclusion that suggests itself on the basis of the above data is that the incidence of *O* in India is nearly equal in all provinces and about one third of the observed frequencies are of *O* blood. The Naga tribes like the Konyak and the Angami have the highest *O* among the tribal groups, the proto-Australoid tribes except the Paniyans have all more than 30% *O*, the higher castes in India have a comparatively higher value for *O* than the lower castes, and in one viz., the Black Jews of the Deccan the *O* percentage was found as high as 73·60%. The lowest *O* also was found among the Paniyans. If *O* is the core out of which other groups have been evolved, as held by some serologists, then the

distribution of *O* in a population may indicate the degree of racial purity, an assumption which, however, is extremely unsafe to make with the serological data available till now.

An attempt has been made by us in the United Provinces anthropological survey to find out the racial significance of blood groups.* The serological evidence is not enough to indicate racial distance between social types though, when these are read along with anthropometric data, a general measure of race affiliation and distance can be found out. 21 samples were tested, and their inter-relations examined. It was found that the various social types in the Province could be arranged in a scale of racial precedence so that as we proceed down the scale, the racial status of the groups diminishes till we come to the tribal elements, whose distance from the high caste groups is definite and pronounced. We took two mixed samples and we arranged the other samples on the basis of their distance from them. On one side we found all the higher castes, on the other the various tribal groups. This was the broad picture, but when we attempted to compare the various castes among themselves we found that the differences in most cases were not statistically significant—a fact which probably showed that there was little correspondence between race and occupation, for most of the castes are normally occupational groups.

What is true of blood groups today is that there is a higher frequency of *A* in Europe, of *B* in Asia and the peripheral people; primitive peoples of the world show little or negligible incidence of *B* or *AB* groups. Malone and Lahiri, Macferlane, and Majumdar who have done extensive serological surveys in India, find a sufficiently high concentration of *B* in India and the intensity is maintained in China, Mongolia, Japan and in Malayasia. Recent efforts to study blood-groups on caste and community basis in India have shown that *A* diminishes significantly from the high castes to low castes while the latter show a preponderance of *B*, which, however, is not found among tribal groups in India. Both Macfarlane and Majumdar have suggested hybridisation as a significant factor in determining a concentration of *B* among mixed castes, while the latter has found a high *B* percentage among those social groups castes and tribes in India who are exposed to

*Majumdar, *Race Elements in Cultural*, Guj. Res. Soc. Publication (1946).

unhealthy and inhospitable regions or are habitual victims of Malaria.

The fluctuations of blood groups in Europe according to Woolard and Cleland prove, if anything, that the inhabitants of Europe today are thoroughly mixed. Another factor that has emerged from large-scale serological surveys in India is that in provinces where the race elements are not very different the fluctuation in percentages of the various blood groups among the social groups examined is more or less parallel. In Gujarat, where the Muslims have been recruited mostly from the high caste groups, they show a similar blood groups frequency to the latter while the Muslims of Bengal, the majority of whom have been converts to Islam from the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal classes, show an unmistakable serological association with the latter. But blood group is only a single anthropological character and should not be made to tell more than what it can. Just as mere dolichocephaly (long head) or platyrrhiny (flat nose) by itself gives us no clue to identity or dissociation of supposedly racial groups.

The distribution of the *Rh* factor in the various peoples of the world has been claimed to have some racial significance. Although our data on the *Rh* factor are yet scanty as the investigations have mostly been confined to the discovery of the relationships of the *Rh gene* with Erythroblastosis featalis, Khanolker and Sanghvi (nature, 155, 427-428 : 1945) found only two *Rh*—in a group of 100 persons tested in Bombay while Greval and Choudhary and Dasgupta (1944) found 10% *Rh*—among Calcutta Indians. The Chinese (Wiener, Sonn and Belkin, 1945) have 1·5% *Rh*—and Asian Indians 7·1% (ibid) but the Negroes show 8·1%, the Jews of Canada 8·37% and South Americans (Invernizzi and Yannicelli : 1944) 17·86%. If 85% of human blood is *Rh*+, regional distribution may have a racial significance but the percentage variation within a country is so small that nothing definite can be proved from the incidence of this new factor in human blood.

When we take serological evidence along with that of anthropometry, as for example, shape of the head, of the nose, or proportions of the limbs, our taxonomic criteria increase no doubt but the results are not very encouraging. Disappointment is bound to come when we compare say the Muslims of Bengal with those of the United Provinces, or of Gujarat. While the Muslims of Bengal and Gujarat are brachycephalic, the Muslims of the United Provinces are sub-dolichocephalic, though popular opinion traces

the spread of the Muslims from the centre where they ruled for centuries. What is, therefore, true of race relationships in India, as in other parts of the world, is that there exists considerable amount of race mixture and hybridisation among the populations of the world. Widely separated races have come together in the pre-historic and historic ages, have mixed, blended and even crossed till today, even within the same culturally homogeneous population, the range of variation is often found to be greater than between two races.

Races in Pre-historic Times

Anthropological research has shown that the early members of the human family were as diverse in structure and as extensively distributed over the world at remote geological times as the races are today. Whatever be the common ancestor of man, palæontological evidence points to the differentiation of the pre-historic races. Some of these became extinct like the Java man and his nearest kin the Peking man or even the Piltdown man. The geological strata in which the remains of the Java man were found can be identified with late pliocene or early pleistocene and, according to the estimate of Prof. Osborne, as early as between 475,000 to 400,000 years ago. The Heidelberg race must have flourished between 375,000 and 175,000 years ago and the massive jaw found in the base of the 'Mauer Sands' in Heidelberg though it shows no development of 'chin' must have been that of a powerful human being, for the form of the teeth leaves absolutely no doubt about its owner, who was certainly not Simian. The *pithecanthropus* or the Java man had the smallest brain capacity, estimated at 855 c.c. as compared with 1230 c.c. of the smallest brain capacity found in a member of the Neanderthal race. The prominent width of the 'bony eye-brow ridges' above the orbits is similar to that of a Chimpanzee and 'greatly exceed those of the Neanderthal race and of the modern Australian'. New discovery of the remains of the race in 1936, tiny fragments of the lower jaw, a large portion of a massive lower jaw with several teeth intact, an adult skull etc., only corroborated the assumption of the Pithecanthropus racial types.

The China man known as *Sinanthropus* or the Peking man discovered in 1927 by Prof. Davidson Black from a single molar tooth, which was corroborated by further discovery in 1929 of a fairly complete skull together with portions of jaw and teeth, is a

close relative of the Java man and is now called *Pithecanthropus Pekinensis.* The Rhodesian man may also be placed as a 'variant of the Trinil race' and shows probably the effects of geographical fixation. The Piltdown man whose remains were found in Piltdown in Sussex, England, is probably still an enigma, for although his brain capacity was slightly higher than that of the Java man i.e. 1070 cms, it did not equal that of even some of the lowest brain types in the existing Australian races ; the thickness of the pieces of the skull was nearly double that of the modern European skull, while the several kinds of the brain case under no circumstances could be identified with Simian forms, a fact which makes the 'Piltdown race more human in some respects and more Simian in others'. In any case, this race though most apelike yet discovered, had much in common with modern man, particularly in the absence of any prominent or thickened supra-orbital ridge. The age of the Piltdown race has been estimated to have been between 150,000 to 50,000 years ago and must have been in the third interglacial period. The most talked about pre-historic race whose remains were abundant is the 'Neanderthal' which must have continued till the palæolithic age between 50,000 to 25,000 years ago. They were the forerunners of the Cro-Magnon race, the ancestors of the present day races. The Neanderthal race also became extinct as no trace of them was found afterwards. The features of the Neanderthal skulls and skeletons persist in the different races of man today, and were probably absent in the Simian types. The brain of the Neanderthal man varied from 1200 to 1700 c.c. which compares favourably with that of modern man while their 'overhanging brows and receding forehead find their counterparts among the Negroid races'.

The first discovery of the Cro-Magnon race was in 1864 in Gower, South Wales, and the large number of skeletons discovered there and subsequently in other parts show that this race overran the whole of Western Europe and had most of the features of modern man. While the Neanderthals have not left much evidence of their intellectual and artistic activity, the Cro-Magnon have, and some of their achievements have been assessed by competent authorities as equalling those of modern man. Their inventive genius for fishing or for the chase must have been remarkable, while decorative art reached a high standard of perfection. Thus, as in the modern races, so also among the pre-historic races, there existed diverse structures and levels of cultural development and probably each racial group was stabilised in a particular geographi-

cal region. While it provided a fixation of types in particular areas, it also led to the extinction of some races as well as cultures.

Racial Drift

Although it is difficult to assess the comparative rôles of hereditary differences and the physical environment in the stabilisation of racial types, it is certain that the same race in different geographical regions has produced separate blends or combinations. Movements of population have taken place in pre-historic as well as in historic times, due to changes in climatic conditions as, for example, the sudden lowering of temperature in Europe compelled human and animal groups to seek shelter in caves and hill fastnesses while other causes were social upheavels, conquests, and warfare. Such widespread distribution of population over large areas must have broken down all isolation and encouraged free interbreeding. As 'all crosses between man are fertile', new types were formed by hybridisation which must have got stabilised in particular regions. All hybrid groups did not and could not survive. Mutations have been taking place throughout man's struggle with his environment, some of which proved advantageous, others not, and therefore certain types continued to perpetuate their kind, others lagged behind, ultimately disappearing, leaving behind traces only in their skeletal remains or in the remains of their handicraft.

Race Differences

When the physical anthropologist discusses the morphological classification of races, the primary racial type may yield to his taxonomic technique, but when investigations are localised and the search-light of his technique focussed on the many traits possessed by the members of the local group, his classification of types becomes valueless until he can prove that the traits on which he bases his classification follow known principles of heredity. We do not yet know the range of variation of any physical trait in any population. The cephalic, nasal, facial, and orbitonasal indices, stature, weight, hæmoglobin percentages, even blood pressure and temperatures to name only a few, vary within a given population in the same way as they do between races so that unless we know the relation between inter-group and intra-group variability of the many anthropometric and somatological traits used for purposes of classification the problem of races will remain insoluble.

Race Elements in China

What was true of the palæolithic age, is more true of the present, and any analysis of race relationships in any country will show the extent of hybridisation and the strength of blends and admixtures.

On the basis of craniological data from various sources including those of the specimens from the Anatomical Museum of Munchen, and of Haberer, Reichr and Flower, there are 33·77% dolichocephals and 66·23% brachycephals in China. The dolichocephals are both leptorrhine and platyrrhine, about 40% being platyrrhine. Of the brachycephals, there are 45% platyrrhine and the remaining are leptorrhine; the total percentage of brachycephals in China is about 40%. The majority of the people are hypsicephalic. The dolichocephalic and leptorrhine element is found mostly in Shantung and the dolichocephalic platyrrhine element in Kansu and Kwangsi. In the Yangtse valley, the dominant type is brachycephalic, while the mesocephalic which is the dominant type in China, according to Chi Li, of the Tsing Hua Research Institute, is 'the cross of the two types'. As one proceeds to the South there, the stature goes down while a low-headed type appears with a dwarfish stature.

The Chinese stature varies from 161·8 cms. in Kwangtung to 166·1 cms. in Kiangsu and 169·0 cms in Chihli showing distinct constellations based on stature. Such differences should not be expected within the same race. The Spaniards according to Kolmogaroff have an average stature of 162 cms., the Finns (Wateff) have 166·6 cms., and the Danes (Makeprang and Hansen) 169·1 cms., and they belong to different ethnic types. Though stature is a variable character and need not be taken as racially significant in the same way as other definite skeletal traits, yet when it is discussed along with other anthropometric traits it becomes significant. Dr. Chi Li finds that 'the three types of Chinese stature are correlated with three types of head form and three types of nasal form (indices) and this is true for the craniological material as well as the anthropometrical although with some variations'.* *The Formation of the Chinese People*, p. 43.

*Recent investigations (*Am. Jou. Phys. Anth.* Vol. 4 N. S. No. 3 p. 297) on migration and physical differences among the Americans and the Chinese show the latitude of changes in physical features of migrant races into different climatic regions than those to which for generations they were

MENTAL INEQUALITIES

Nothing of scientific value has yet emerged from the study of mental differences existing among the known racial types and nothing substantial is expected until our techniques are properly standardised and the controls effectively applied. Mental tests are often made on the assumption that the groups so tested have cultural equality. Even the most competent investigator is apt to be misled by assuming that any given people in a locality living together for generations have similar social status ; group differences may exist which may even escape the notice of trained investigators but can be evaluated only by those intimately familiar with the cultural life of the people. Subjective considerations often have militated against the scientific presentation of ethnological data and 'imperialistic outlook', has in no small measure interfered with the purely objective approach to human data.

The inferiority of the Negroes to the whites in all respects was ably argued by Dr. Hunt, in 1863, in a paper, on 'Negroes' place in Nature'. Support for him came from unexpected quarters, some admired his approach to the problem, interested speculators thanked him for his objective evaluation. English liberals calmly disagreed with him, imperialists found justification for their missionary zeal in trade and commerce from the evidence so carefully sifted by him, and in some quarters of America, Hunt was dubbed a philanthropist, his services to mankind eulogised and dissenters were pulled up for illiberal naturalisation of scientific facts, and for unworthy imputation of motive. Scientific facts today are too formidable to warrant acceptance of such pseudo-scientific or interested speculations. A grandson of an Alabama slave is today one of the foremost chemists in America ; undeterred by the constant and unequal fight he was forced to wage against his environment, he has won his legitimate place in the scientific

adapted and stabilised. Measurements of Chinese males born and raised in the United States of America are found to differ in certain specific respects from those of Chinese immigrants born in China. These differences consist in an increase in stature, and in all measurements of the trunk and limbs other than chest depth, of the body indices hand and foot, indices tend to be lower in the American born. The descendants of immigrants in America compared to their parents born in Europe showed a change in physical features, and change of diet from a rice staple to wheat in Northern India has affected the rice eating immigrants from Bengal and Madras. with respect to the mandibular measurements, bizygomatic and bigonial, both.

world. Today his researches have benefited his native country no less than that of any other living chemist. Despite handicaps natural to coloured races, Negro scientists, authors, philanthropists and artists have attained international status and have compelled respect for their race in no uncertain way. During the days of the slave trade, many slaves were conceded equal or superior status on account of their high intelligence. They excelled their masters in many cases, but did not get social equality due to their being members of inferior races.

In recent years a lot of data has accumulated on the subject of intelligence quotient of groups of children belonging to different races and sections of the same race, but no correlation of bodily and mental characters could be established which would be scientifically unassailable. Brigham, Davenport, and Steggarda have provided comparative material on mental differences between races. In all these investigations, there was an absence of a common denominator for comparative evaluation of mental capacity, as the tests were such that they failed to equate the social groups with respect to their knowledge of those tests. Brigham, whose experiments were acclaimed as most formidable, himself gave his verdict against their acceptance, for he said, 'that his claims were without any foundation whatever.' Lancelot Hogben scrutinised the Jamaican data which were worked out by Davenport and Steggarda. The number of adults selected for tests was not sufficiently large. Not every effort was made by the investigators to 'equalise social conducts between the blacks, browns and whites', as among the blacks and browns investigated by these authors, 31 adults were prison inmates, committed for petty larceny or acts of sudden violence while no prisoners were included in the white groups. Even if the tests are taken as having been properly carried out, under controlled conditions, the results were not very encouraging as they did not establish any inherent superiority or inferiority of the three groups, viz., Browns, Blacks, and Whites. For example in pitch, intensity, and time and rhythm tests the blacks and browns were superior to the whites, in drawing tests the whites excelled the blacks and browns. In puzzles, in detecting absurdity of ridiculous statements the whites showed unusual skill, and were found outstandingly superior in ability.

On the basis of the material presented by Davenport and Steggarda, Lancelot Hogben came to the conclusion that 'in some characteristics of a socially desirable nature the average Negro

proved to be a little better and in some cases a little worse equipped than the average white included in the investigation'. Most anthropologists and psychologists agree with this conclusion. Had the environments equalised by a proper selection of the subjects for investigation, had the tests been such as would really measure innate ability and had the people subjected to such tests been really representative of the groups considered, the results would have been taken seriously and the difference found would tell what is expected of them. The present status of race studies is essentially a fluid one, nothing has been proved, nothing can be proved on the basis of the present tests and measurements, and nothing that has been proved is of any prognostic value.

RACE MIXTURE

How far race admixture is taking place in various parts of the country will be evident from a reference to the serological data available for Muslim population in India and outside. The blood groups of the Makranis of Gujarat were examined and were found significantly different from the Makranis of Baluchistan. The Baluchis, according to Malone and Lahiri (Ind. J. Med. Res. 1927; 25) have 47·2% *O*, 24·3% *A*, 24·3% *B* and 4·2% *AB* showing comparative isolation according to Snyder. The Makranis of Gujarat, most of whom have Baluch fathers and Bhil mothers, have similar *A* and *B* and 9 % more *AB*. The total *B*+*AB* among the Baluch (Malone and Lahiri) is 28·5% while that among the Makranis is 37·05%. There is 35·5% *B*+*AB* among the Panchmahal Bhils, 37·3% among the Rajpipla Bhils, 31·0% *B*+*AB* among the Bhils of Western Khandesh (*Current Science* Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 129).

The Muslims of India as a general rule differ significantly from their co-religionists outside, both with regard to anthropometric and serological characters. For example, the Turks have high *A* value and low *B* value. The total *B*+*AB* among them being 25·20% while the Calcutta Muslims show 45·70% *B*+*AB*, Budge Muslims show 48·30%, U.P. Muslims 42·90%, the Shias of U.P. 38·70% and the Sunnis 46·20% *B*+*AB*. The Syrian Arabs have 28·0% *B*+*AB*, Syriah Muslims 15·10% and Tunis Muslims 21·20%. The Pathans of the Punjab and the Frontier Province have 39·40% *B*+*AB* and the Hazaras 43·0%. With regard to *A* values the Muslims of India show similar dissociation from their co-religionists outside. For example, the Turks have 38·0% *A*, the Syrian Arabs

34%, Syriah Muslims 42·20%, Tunis Muslims 32·40% while the Calcutta Muslims have 24·6%, Budge Muslims 23·80%, Sunnis of U. P. 22·80% and the Shias 25·50%.

The stature of the Muslims varies from province to province in India. While the U.P. Muslims have an average stature of 162·45 cms, that of the Muslims Waghers is 167·95 cms, of Mianas of Cutch 167·37 cms. The Khojas have an average stature of 164·47 cms, Memons 163·64 cms, and the Sunni Borahs 162·94 cms. The same kind of variation is noticeable in Cephalic and Nasal indices as well. The Parsis who are an immigrant people in India have not all maintained their racial purity and both from the anthropometric and serological evidences they can be traced to more than one ethnic type. Although race admixture has been found everywhere, so much so, that today purity of race is indeed an abstraction, there are social and legal barriers to admixture recognised in most countries of the world inhabited by diverse ethnic groups.

About 30 states in North America have laws prohibiting inter-racial marriages. In some states legislation is directed against miscegenation with Negroes, in some against the Mongoloids. The Southern states contain a large coloured population and the legislation is meant to exclude Whites marrying Negroes and *vice versa* ; in the states west of the Mississippi bordering the Pacific with large Mongoloid populations the protection refers to marriages between White and Mongoloid stocks. Legislation is absent in those states where the population is homogeneous and consists of Whites alone. In Mississippi not only are marriages between White and coloured races prohibited by law, but even suggestions in favour of social equality or of intermarriage between Whites and Negroes are regarded as offences punishable by fine or imprisonment or by both.

Race, whatever be its biological basis, however, is no expression of personality and culture. Biologists today do not concede that race presents irreconcilable differences in soul, mind and blood. The soul of man is too abstract to be palpably different in shape ; the mind is too uncertain to admit of fundamental differences and blood is transferable from person to person and even from man to animal and *vice versa,* within limits, of course. Race is 'reason' when discussed from a 'laudable zeal for discriminating men' but is 'rubbish' when the bounds are exceeded. That is why Dahlberg, one of the world's great biologists put 'Race, Reason and Rubbish'

on the title page of a book on race biology. Races are susceptible to cultivation and therefore the superiority of one race to another is at best a myth.

Racialism, as is known in America and in Europe, is the direct offshoot of Imperialism, as the theory of diffusion of culture is an inevitable consequence of imperialistic designs to dominate the world. As an anthropologist recently remarked, had it not been for the exploitation of the coloured races in various parts of the world, the white race would have accepted the French ideal of 'equality, liberty and fraternity' in 'word' and 'spirit'. The scramble for Africa, the vast potential resources of Australasia, the lifelines of trade and commerce and strategic points in a farflung colonial empire have provided the sanction for shocking experiences that come in the wake of race conflict and the world needs a clear and dispassionate evaluation of racial claims.

Race amalgamation cannot be tabooed for any biological reason that we know of. Mixture may become deleterious if the mixed people result from the union of the inferior elements of two races. The average mental equipment of one race must be the same as that of another however different the achievements of the races may be. If two races mix freely the general result cannot be anything which is not warranted by the possession and equipment of the individuals belonging to the two groups mixing. The cases that are usually referred to viz., of deliquency, alcoholism, and cacogenic traits in a population, are not the result of admixture of races, superior and inferior, but of miscegenation. Where there is little or no legal sanction for mating between members of two races, the inferior elements of both come together, mate and reproduce mostly outside wedlock so that it is merely heredity reproducing itself, and not a result that would prejudice race admixture.

Every country today possesses large numbers of endogamous groups, who may be described as 'social isolates'. A person marries normally more often within his social level than without. Whether the castes of India have a racial basis or not, the endogamy practised by the castes has certainly channelled blood along restricted lines ; small sections of castes also behave as endogamous groups, and among them the opportunity for a recessive defect to show up is much greater than when the groups are widely based. Biologists believe that the break up of 'social isolates' leads to an increased incidence of hetrozygots i.e., of dominant types in the resulting population. The increase of stature in some of the

European countries—in some cases the increase has been 9 cms., as among the Swedes—may be due to universal medical examination, higher standard of living and similar agencies but it is also due to the breaking up of social isolation. Stature is not due to a single *gene* but to a number of them which 'reinforce each other' and in a heterogeneous group the chances of different *genes* coming together must be greater.

Intellectual development similarly must be traced to the greater scope that exists now for inter-mixture and some anthropologists agree that in a cosmopolitan city or town, where chances of contacts and inter-marriages are higher, the possibility of the intellectual level being pushed up must be infinitely greater than among 'social isolates'. On the other hand 'different economic and social circumstances, different systems of schooling and the like, can assuredly produce fundamental differences which have no hereditary basis'. It is certainly not tragic as racists in Germany used to think that the denordicisation of Germany has been going on from times immemorial ; on the other hand the progress of Germany in science, art and letters must be fairly ascribed to such a process, whatever circumstances may have been responsible for it. As early as 1897-98 Furst and Retzius came to the conclusion on the result of an examination of army recruits in countries of the Scandinavian group which are known to be entirely populated by the Nordic race, that only 10% of the population could be taken to represent the Nordic type. When we scratch a Russian we find a Tartar, and the various types of admixture that have taken place in different countries, even in those islands inhabited by aboriginal people, must weigh down the scales in favour of racial admixture, blends, and combinations.

When different races come into contact and occupy the same country or contiguous parts of it, there is usually a mixture of blood, which ultimately establishes new and modified blends or combinations of ethnic types. When the races are not very dissimilar but friendly, inter-marriage does take place without exciting opposition. This is not, however, very easy when the migrants have little in common between them and the native population. In areas where a particular group, by virtue of its superior organisation and military strength, imposes itself upon another, differences in social status act as a barrier to the fusion of types, though it may be natural for the women of the conquered group to supply the marital needs of the superior or the invading group. Endogamous groups even have been found to amalgamate

where they settle down permanently in a new domicile, but cultural differences often have militated against race mixture and even different sections of the same race at different levels of culture have maintained their endogamy and social isolation. Ignorance of each other's cultures have proved an effective barrier to the fusion of races, while regional peculiarities have determined the extent of admixture. Occupational differences have produced endogamy, while a reorganisation of the economic structure of the society has pulled divergent elements together to produce new and powerful groups.

While races have mixed and blended, there are pockets in which certain racial types have been more or less fixed and stabilised. Various factors have tended to perpetuate such isolation and group consciousness arising out of it. Some races are backward in their economic, educational and scientific achievements; others have moved forward with astonishing quickness. Such differences have provided food for thought and have been traced by some to differences in innate ability, but when we discuss the causes of such backwardness, we find that such inferiority is the resultant of a crop of factors and not merely of innate abilities. Isolation is a great barrier to progress. The opening up of the country by a vast network of communications, changes in the economic environment resulting from it, contacts with other people and the need for reciprocity in social life arising out of them have brought tremendous changes among 'social isolates' and the social history of most of the parts of our country, when we re-read it, will provide valuable data for evaluating the competence or otherwise of social groups for progress and survival.

No one would seriously deny the rôle of favourable circumstances, genial climate, good geographical location and similar factors, encouraging as they do trade and traffic, in the shaping of cultural progress. Where climate is not favourable, even an abundance of energy and ambition in the people has not secured rapid cultural progress. How far tropical conditions are responsible for arresting cultural progress, is difficult to assess, but no one probably would deny the physiological effect that results from damp air and increased pressure, viz., nervous depression, increased elimination of carbondioxide, slower circulation of blood and quiet sleep, not to speak of the effect of savage attacks of animal parasites. The only point in which the tropical countries win is that indolence, ignorance and depression have not stifled the desire

for reproduction. On the other hand they have favoured a rapid multiplication of population.

Lack of natural resources, of coal, iron, fertile soil, good timber and the like have circumscribed progress and the economic backwardness of many of the tropical countries is directly traceable to nature's partiality in the distribution of her resources. Old and worn out political systems, medieval practices, feudal rights and obligations have impeded progress in no uncertain way, but when such handicaps have been overthrown or their rigours relaxed by a reorganisation of the social structure or by revolution, assimilation of higher culture by a backward nation has not lagged behind. Political domination of one race by another saps the springs of cultural progress. Even gifted nations have suffered stagnation, frustration and decay losing thereby their cultural heritage and disintegrating themselves.

THE ROOTS OF RACE CONFLICT

Sir Arthur Keith says that nations are 'incipient races'. We do not know if they really are. Many nations of today are composed of different racial stocks, and America is building on a racial foundation which draws its strength from all sources. America provides an example of how crossings of racial stocks may evolve a nation, the elements of which have shown the greatest adaptability to the problems of life which that vast country presents. The fact that has contributed most to this great experiment is that the mixture of the different races has not been produced by the men of one race marrying the women of another, but both the sexes of the racial groups inter-marrying. Yet, America is infamous for race riots, and the intolerance shown by the Whites towards the coloured often exceeds the bounds of reason and any sense of decency.

The problem of the Negroes in America or that of the Indian immigrants in the Union of South Africa, or the various restrictive laws which control immigration in large âreas of the globe, or the race prejudices that one finds in different parts of the civilised world, in Europe and elsewhere, the antagonisms that exist between the Americans and the Japanese or between the Jews and the Gentiles in New York or between the Mexicans and the people of the South Western States, even if each of these conflicts has its special aspects, all have the same family likeness and should be treated similarly. The most important fact about these conflicts is

that the antagonism derives its inspiration from a kind of group consciousness which may result from different causes. (1) Race conflicts arise between groups which differ from each other by some obvious physical traits. (2) Linguistic differences develop cultural groups which behave as distinct races and carry their prejudices far enough to put the groups into hostile camps. (3) Religious differences overshadow social relations and conflicts undermine social security and cultural progress. (4) While contiguity of residence brings different racial groups into social relationships, economic rivalry between closely related groups produces unhealthy competition leading to armed conflicts. (5) Race friction may result from a lack of knowledge of racial status of the immigrant stock, but if the immigrant people have no memory of race status, and no traditions in protest of the existing law of their native land viz., dissenters and those who want to change to other *mores*, are likely to be free from race prejudices and easily settle down in their new domicile without conflict.

The Japanese of the Puget Sound region, we are told by J. A. Rade-Maker (*Race and Culture Contacts* p. 184-190), found that they were different from the White population in racial features, in customs and etiquette, in language, in family standards, in food habits and in cultural values. The latter were used to Chinese labour and the competition with the Japanese labour brought all the differences to a head and conflicts became inevitable. In course of time, the Japanese children born in Puget Sound began to grow up with the White children, the initial shyness disappeared, they began to speak the language spoken by the White children and by association with the latter for 12 years or more, largely in schools, and also outside, a sort of understanding of each other's cultures was achieved. A common language and participation in common social and cultural relationship have removed the initial reticence and stiffness, producing a real comradeship between opposing groups. Wherever racial characters have been found associated with economic and cultural competition, the whole has formed a mosaic and has prevented fusion of cultures and understanding between groups.

Race relations in Hawaii have been studied in great detail by anthropologists. It is amazing how race conflict has disappeared in this part of the world. A visitor today finds no evidence of race prejudice. A Negro is treated with the same courtesy as an American, both are addressed in the same way by the prefix

'Mister' and inter-marriage between men and women of different racial stocks takes place without the slightest shrug of shoulders or any scuffle. A Negro marries a White woman, and a White man a coloured woman without exciting any protest from the respective societies. Anybody, particularly a newcomer who does not like this kind of egalitarianism, is pooh-poohed as a *malahine* i.e. a stranger; a few months or a year may convert him into a *Kammania* or 'old-timer' and he learns to behave. Physical differences, differences in racial traits, in inborn and latent capacities, and mental inequalities do not very much matter. The social codes or *mores* of social relationship determine race relationship and no amount of race distance is socially significant in Hawaii.

The racial differences existing in India in different parts of the country, between the tall, long-headed and fair-skinned inhabitants of Northern India, the medium-statured, broad-headed and olive-complexioned people of Central India from Gujarat to Bengal, the long-headed, brown-complexioned Mediterraneans speaking the Dravidian languages and the proto-Australoids of Interior India and the Mongoloid elements in Assam, Burma, and the Himalayas both *cis* and *trans*-Himalayan, have all fitted into a pattern of life and living; and no race conflict, after the initial fight between the indigenous and invading races had brought the races into closer relationships, social and sexual, has stirred the peace of the country for milleniums. An economy based on co-operation between the various racial and cultural groups, tribes and castes, has been evolved, which for centuries provided a strong bulwark against misunderstanding and conflict.

The social hierarchy in India which is partly based on race, and partly on culture, has answered the claims of ambitious groups and has assimilated diverse racial groups into a social pattern in which work and worship have promoted a healthy rivalry between competing groups of 'Varnas'. So long as status determined economic relationships, economic autarchy protected individuals from starvation, and social mobility allowed ambitious groups to readjust themselves to the social hierarchy, the scope for conflict was limited. The continuity of culture from the primitive and aboriginal tribes right up to the highest caste viz., the Brahmins, has softened differences and stifled antagonism and every social group in India shares in some form or other the cultural heritage of India. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are sung from fields to forests and the myths and legends, anecdotes concerning

mythical heroes and great men have filtered into the daily life of the average man. The status and influence enjoyed by the aboriginal population in ancient India who met on equal terms with the ruling elements and were represented in the Indo-Aryan polity, did not provide any scope for misunderstanding or conflict. The friendship of ruling chieftains of the tribal pockets which were scattered in the hills and fastnesses was secured by the invading races by drawing them into social relationship with the latter. On the other hand, most of the alliances with tribal chiefs were based on inter-marriage in which reciprocity played no inconsiderable part. In medieval times and even later on, the mutual goodwill between the Hindus and Muslims was translated into practice by the two people identifying themselves with each others' life and happiness, and the understanding between the two communities who lived side by side provided no cause for antagonism; on the other hand, they developed a unique tolerance to each other and even today the countryside is full of amity and friendship, whatever the complexion of the political life of the country today may be. India, with her vast population, 'Babel' of tongues, levels of culture, inequalities of wealth and racial differences, has not produced any race conflict of the kind found elsewhere and the little unrest, misunderstanding and signs of hostility that we find today have been fostered and fomented by partisan elements and must disappear with changing times, and the realisation of the fundamental and abiding interests of the country as a whole.

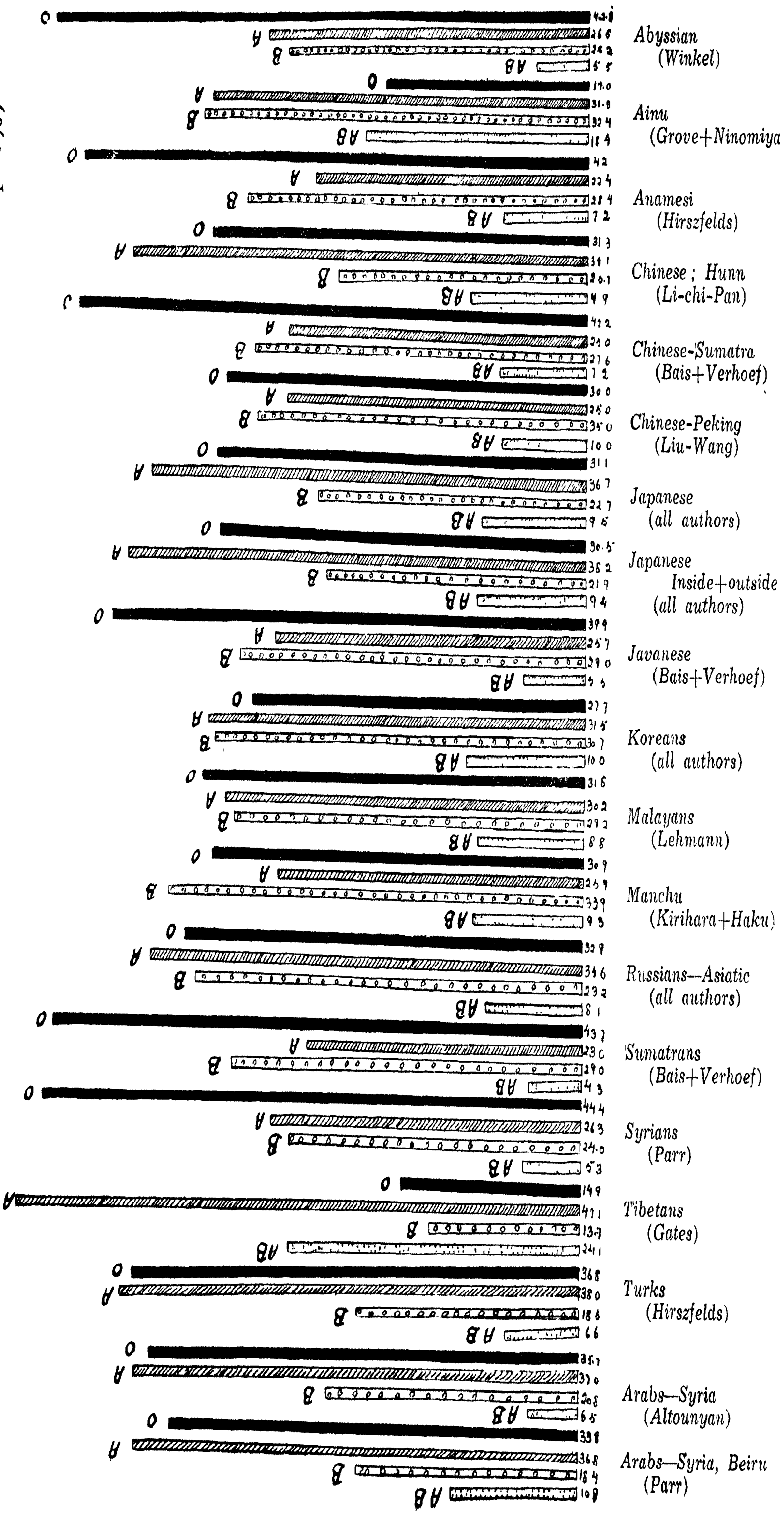
The roots of race conflict are many and the tentacles with which it flourishes are infinite. Ignorance is the main stem that provides the sap for conflict and an infinite passion for fission engulfs countries and nations. What is known of the biology of man or of the laws of heredity is little or nothing. What is wrongly interpreted as the effects of heredity is the *magnus corpus* which the people find difficult to shake off. What is said by partisan scientists is very often tacitly accepted and when truth is told, social forces, religious bias and preconceptions stifle it before it can establish itself. To take an example, Buffon in his early life was a believer in evolution, but he latterly advocated a rapid variation of species, and postulated a common origin for the horse and the ass, for man and ape as well. He believed that the structure of plants and animals are modified by environment and the modifications are preserved through heredity. But Buffon was so much afraid of public opinion that in 1751, he was constrained to recant his scientific heresies in the following sentence: 'I declare that I had no

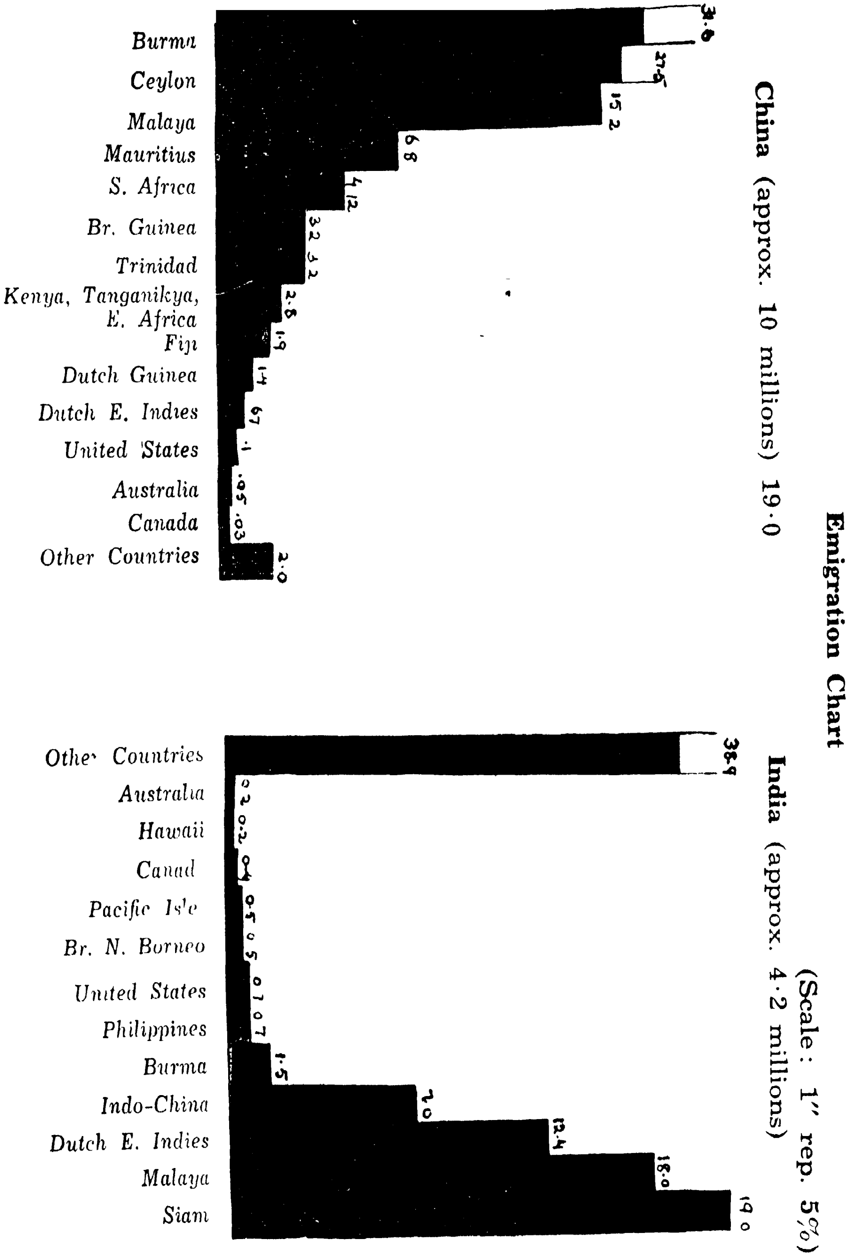
intention to contradict the text of scripture, that I believe most firmly all therein related about the creation, both as to order of time and matter of fact'. The fate of the 'mongrel' has been sealed by pseudo-scientific dogmas long before the 'mongrel' could raise its voice to prove its bonafides. 'Nature prevents the development of the mongrel' said Schultz. 'Nature stamps out the mongrel by degrading it and finally eliminating it.' The hybrid is usually an outcaste. The social system of India viz., caste, bans inter-caste marriage. Even if *anuloma* marriage is recognised, *protiloma* marriage is tabooed. 'Hybridisation' leads to disharmony in body proportions. That is probably why the children of a Kshattriya father and a Brahmin mother, are 'Ugras' or ferocious, those of Sudra by Brahmin mother are 'Chandalas', the lowest status imaginable in the Hindu social system. The Nordics are dolichocephals. Only those with a cephalic index of 76 and below have great wishes say the racists, 'and incessantly they work to satisfy them'. They are the Aryan branch of the white race. No racial group whether long-headed or broad-headed can be found who do not have a cross-section of its people with a cephalic index of 76 and below. All the pre-Dravidian or proto-Australoid people have a cephalic index less than 76, yet it is the Aryan branch of the white race that has won and can win in the struggle of race with race and 'survive as the physically and mentally superior race'. The average intelligence of one race is the same as that of another; the idiots in one compare favourably with idiots of the other, while there may be a difference in the incidence of the gifted elements that constitute the vanguard of cultural progress. How far environment is responsible for rearing gifted people has not been properly evaluated; besides, so long as the present social order is maintained, more and more of the gifted elements are likely to be thrown into the common pool, where mediocrity reigns supreme. It is, therefore, necessary to dispel ignorance and develop a scientific attitude in the minds of common men and women towards problems of human biology, of race and racial relationship. The common man must be made to understand the difference between 'science' and the 'scientist'. Whatever the latter says must not be regarded as science unless it can be tested and verified. Many of our troubles are due to the lack of discrimination on the part of the public, for, whatever they read in print they very often accept without question or reserve. Knowledge dispels ignorance, and scientific truths must be disseminated if we want to free the popular mind from prejudices.

Though ignorance is the most potent cause for race conflict, superstitions, fear, suspicion and economic rivalry, and desire for political domination have contributed, in no uncertain way, to create mutual distrust and ill-will between races. A better understanding of one another's culture, of the points of view that differ from us, of the many angles from which different races view life and comforts, is obligatory for any nation which wants to encourage peace and happiness within its borders, and goodwill among others. Most of our preconceived ideas and prejudices have disintegrated and disappeared by closer contacts, and even 'enemies' have become friends and contributed to mutual happiness by closer social and personal relationships. If neighbours know and understand each other, the scope for conflict must necessarily narrow down. While injustice, social and political, has aggravated group antagonisms, discrimination and disabilities imposed on one race by another have stifled the desire for friendship and amity among the so-called inferior races; a broader outlook, a greater regard for other peoples' sentiment and ideologies, have brought warring racial groups into closer co-operation and have bred goodwill and trust. The problem of race and racial conflict is not different from that of the family or of the clan as both require knowledge and understanding to effect an adjustment of personalities and of groups, without which no healthy relations can subsist within the family or between races. The more we know of others, and the more others know of us, however different we may be in race and culture, the greater the goodwill and respect we breed, and without them even freedom will become a mockery.

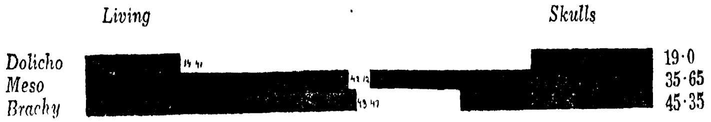
Distribution of Blood Groups in Asia

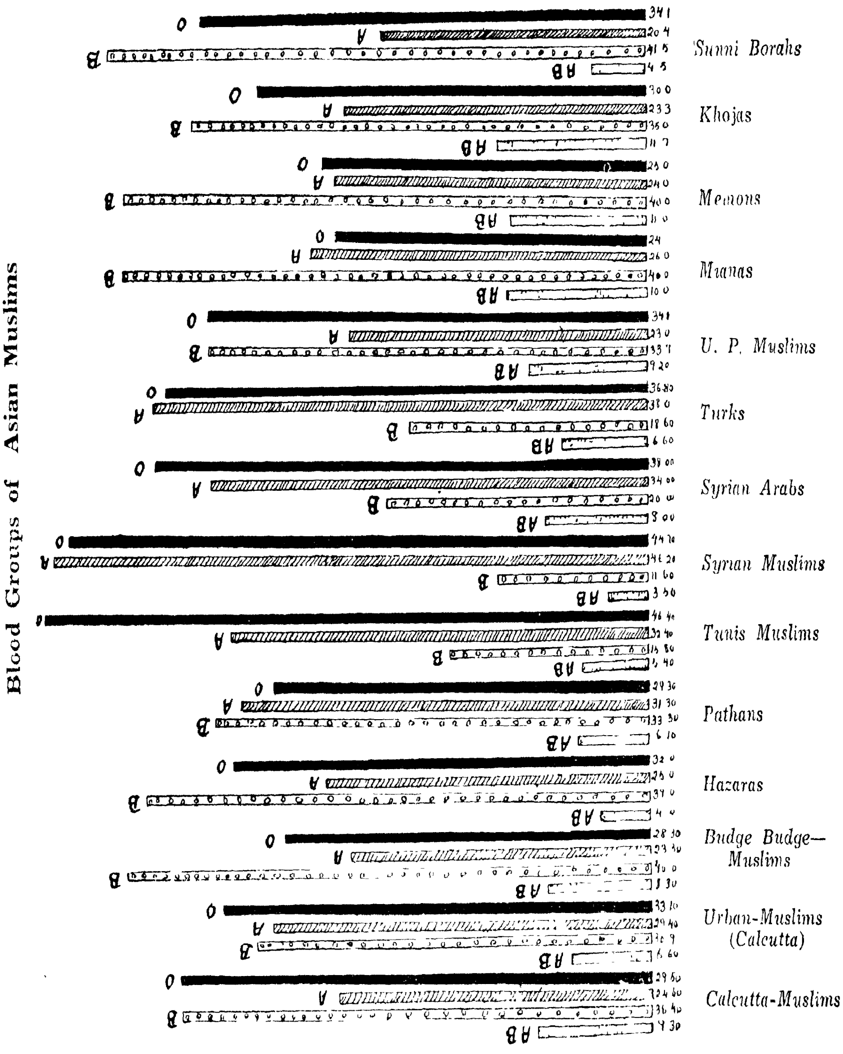
(Scale: 1″ rep. 5%)




Emigration Chart
(Scale : 1″ rep. 5%)
China (approx. 10 millions) 19·0
Burma
Ceylon
Malaya
Mauritius
S. Africa
Br. Guinea
Trinidad
Kenya, Tanganikya, E. Africa
Fiji
Dutch Guinea
Dutch E. Indies
United States
Australia
Canada
Other Countries
India (approx. 4·2 millions)
Othe Countries
Australia
Hawaii
Canad
Pacific Is'e
Br. N. Borneo
United States
Philippines
Burma
Indo-China
Dutch E. Indies
Malaya
Siam

Percentage Distribution of Cephalic Indices among the Chinese.





RACIAL CONFLICT

1. The expression racial conflict is used to denote conflict between human groups where the conflict is primarily an economic struggle strengthened and intensified by all the physical and cultural characteristics which differentiate one group from the other. Human history bears ample evidence against the belief that there is instinctive repulsion of one race against another. There are no pure races to-day—perhaps there never were any; but the known hybrid population between very diverse racial stocks shows that wherever people have met, they have mixed. In fact the appropriation of the women of the defeated people, has been a privilege of the conqueror since very ancient times. Naturalists have described how ants from one nest fight ants from another nest, until either the one or the other group is annihilated or put to flight. They also describe how this discrimination between members of one's own nest and that of another depends on the sense of smell and how if the ants of one nest are soaked in the juice of another nest, the members of the two nests intermingle and work without any trace of animosity. Insects provide many (generally false) analogies to human societies. The so-called prejudices and antipathies of one race for another are certainly not of the type described for the ants above. The attitude towards the new and the foreign is made up of many elements and attraction and repulsion both form part of it. It has been noted by many travellers that the primitive people who came in contact with Europeans for the first time did not necessarily show repulsion or a fighting attitude. If the immediate demand of the European was not against their interest, as they conceived it, it was fulfilled willingly. Definitely inimical attitudes are developed when personal danger or danger to possession is feared or sensed. Racial conflict thus arises out of the struggle for existence and the struggle for power and assumes changes in extent and intensity according to the material and cultural equipment of the opposing groups.

Human beings have roamed over this earth for six hundred thousand years. Remains of pre-human or proto-human beings have been found in Java, Australia and China. Remains of human species called the Neanderthal man have been found in Italy, France, Czechoslovakia, Germany, etc. It is possible that this species was even more widely spread. It had many so-called

primitive characteristics like a big jaw, a small forehead sloping backwards, big supra-orbital ridges, etc., but the most remarkable thing about this species was its enormous brain capacity, which was on an average bigger than that of the average for any human race to-day. It is assumed from the evidence in hand that this species has become entirely extinct. And in this fact we are greatly interested. The natural history of most animals is full of such examples of extinct species. Why do whole species vanish is a question one wants to ask. Did the environment change in such a way that living was not possible for a particular species—or did the species, itself undergo mutation and change in such a way, that it could not maintain itself by sufficient numbers being born and surviving? Neanderthal man had lived through very rigorous ice-age conditions, through changing weather periods for thousands of years. Did he, out of tiredness of living bring about the extinction of the whole species or did he come into contact with the direct precursors of modern humanity and die at their hands? Some recent investigations place the time of the emergence of modern humanity, represented by the Swan-combe skull in England so far back, that it could well have met and fought the Neanderthal man in the neighbouring part of Europe. If this is so, then modern man began his life by a very hard and bloody battle for existence indeed. However, nothing is yet known about why the Neanderthal man died or whether the ancestors of modern humanity met and killed him.

The spatial distribution of modern human races has given rise to a great deal of speculation. Most of the primitive people of the world live today in what is economically unattractive land for farming and pastoral people. Moving word-pictures have been drawn of the Bushmen of the Kalahari, the Pigmies of the Congo forest, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Negritos of Andaman, the Ona of the southern tip of South America, the primitive people of Australia and a host of others. In all these it is suggested that these primitive savages once occupied better territory and have been compelled to take refuge in these unattractive places by the later hordes of conquering people, who now occupy the adjacent country. There does not seem to be much evidence for this assumption except in a very few cases. In the primitive hunting stage, human groups were very mobile and they seem to have wandered on and on as long as they found game and water. In a purely hunting and gathering stage, their semi-naked condition of alternate satiation and starvation may not have been anything out of the ordinary, and must have been the usual routine of life. They

could not use the fertile alluvial plains, and most probably never lived in them for long, and the question of their having been driven out from more favoured regions into their present habitat does not arise. These hunters seem to have lived where they are for an extremely long period and have adapted themselvs completely to their surrounding. The most amazing and complete of such adaptation is that of the Eskimos. Others like the Ona, Akka, Bushmen, etc., are also able to cope with their environment to a considerable degree and if any sad look has crept into their eyes, it is of a very late origin. The agricultural civilisations never endangered these savages as a group. They hardly penetrated into the jungle or desert region held by these people and it is only in the last few centuries that their habitat has been encroached upon.

The history of the migrations of primitive people is not well worked out for all regions. The migrations lasted for thousands of years and went on by stages. In some cases the primitive people had reached a region where they lived on without much contact with others, as in the case of the Onas, Andamanese and Eskimos. In other cases there was contact and conflict going on for ages, as in the case of the Bushmen and the Pigmies. As long as both the conflicting communities are more or less on the same cultural plane, such a long drawn conflict brings about a zone of intermixture and a mutual region of possession where the one may live unmolested by the other. Where one community is superior in weapons and mobility over the other, the superior community may hold the other in perpetual bondage. Such is the case among many cattle-keeping pastoral tribes of North and East Africa and their agricultural neighbours. For example, the Masai hold the agricultural Swahili as their labourers in East Africa. The bondage is however light, the economic exploitation never too great. The cultural difference between such tribes is never too great and they live in and share the same region.

When we consider the historical pattern of conflict as revealed by the records available for Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China and later records for Rome and Greece, some facts emerge clearly. The early settlers of these lands had apparently discovered agriculture and husbandry and learnt to build permanent cities. In Egypt the different settlements, after a brief early struggle, were united into a mighty empire which lasted for thousands of years. Egypt had a homogenous population, a comparatively isolated position to work out its destiny and it presents a picture of a busy society engaged in all arts of peaceful living. Mesopotamia, however, had a far more turbulent history. The Sumerians, its

earliest people, never emerged out of city-states and their continuous destructive wars, and this legacy of regional supremacy and wars was handed down to the Babylonian and Assyrian empires. These empires were also at times very wide and powerful, but there was no internal cohesion or unity and they were harassed by the mountain tribes of the neighbouring Persian highlands from the very beginning until they fell finally to the armies of the Persians. The Cities of the Indus were also destroyed, by what-agencies is not known. India was invaded early by the northern pastoral people, the Vedic Aryans, who spread their language from the Punjab to the Krishna and from the Indus to Assam. A remarkable cultural synthesis was reached by the fusion of the northern Indo-Aryans, the eastern worshippers of Shiva and the southern Dravidian people. But India never achieved political unity even for a brief period and was continuously exposed to the invasion of semi-nomadic people from the north. In China, apparently, the elements which have built the Chinese nation were more homogeneous and a great and enduring culture with one language has been evolved. However, this land was continuously disturbed by invasions from Mongolia, and Mongolia supplied China with a long line of kings and dynasties. The agricultural civilisations of India and China, Egypt, Sumer and Babylonia did not prove strong enough to resist successfully the lightning onslaughts of the northern nomads but their capacity to absorb them seemed almost limitless. These nomads were a hardy folk, had mastered the horse and had learnt the art of warfare, leadership and clan-solidarity in a perennial struggle for supremacy on the great Asian steppes. They could easily raid the city people and go away laden with booty but their cultural possessions were few and poor, and if they stayed, they had to learn the arts of agricultural life and in a few generations became indentified with the conquered. They took up the dress, the language and gods of the land in which they settled. Sometimes they succeeded in maintaining themselves as the ruling class and when the next wave of invasion came, were gladly accepted as national champions and heroes. In a wide-spread polytheism there is no urge to decry or disbelieve the gods of other people and innumerable instances show the homage paid to foreign gods by immigrants and conquerors. The Persian conquerors of Babylonia had different gods and mythologies from the Babylonians and yet they adopted the national Babylonian God, Marduk, and went through the formality of holding his hands to establish their sovereignty of the country. The Romans allowed the worship of Isis, the Egyptian Goddess of

Fertility, the Kushan Kings who came to India from the north have left records on their sacrificial posts carved in stone about their homage to Hindu deities and a Greek invader has left a stone pillar at Bhilsa in which he styles himself as Mahabhagavata. There was exchange of goods, of knowledge and beliefs in an atmosphere, which was singularly free from prejudice and bigotry. Great kings, though personally inclined to one religious belief rather than another, prided themselves in protecting and endowing all sects and religions. Differences in appearance, dress and manners were always felt and noted. Everyone probably thought his way of life the best but the cultured of each land never thought the others less than human beings because they differed in their customs. This catholicity of outlook took away the edge of conflicts. People amassed armies and fought, the conqueror gathered booty and tribute, perhaps carried away some slaves, but did not interfere further with the lives of the ordinary man, and when they withdrew, life took up where it had been interrupted. There was no permanent bondage for the conquered people who, as history shows, always revolted if they were far enough from the capital and ceased to pay tribute. This was the situation not merely as regards foreign conquerors. In their own limited regions, kings found it difficult to levy tribute from outlying provinces, and every new king had to take his armies and subdue the people anew to convince them of his prowess. From Italy to China, in the belt of high ancient civilisation we meet the same pattern of culture-contact: sporadic conflicts and rapid cultural assimilation. This historical continuity was broken abruptly in Mesopotamia and Egypt and southern Europe, but remained almost intact in India, China, Japan and the intervening countries. The first period of culture-contact and conflict in world history is the longest where the human race in primitive hunting groups spread over the earth and contended for territory. The period covered is at least 300,000 years. The contact was not much in the nature of population pressure, nor was the conflict great. There was ample space for all and the nature of exploitation of the natural resources was such that the raw material wanted by all for their few needs was easily available. The second period lasted a few thousands years from about 3,000 B.C. to a little after the birth of Christ. This is the time when civilisations based on agriculture in fertile river valleys of the sub-tropical and temperate belt flourished from Egypt to China. To the north of this belt lay the storm centre, the ever-wandering turbulent nomads of the great Asian plains. These stormed again and again the cities and the fertile valleys of the

south but the damage done by them was never permanent except in the case of Rome. India and China absorbed these northern hordes one after another and Buddhism and later Hinduism created an amazing world of combined Indian, Chinese, Burmese and Japanese cultures, whose echoes are heard even to-day. Egypt fell to Rome, Mesopotamia, after the Persian conquest, fell into anarchy and lapsed into oblivion until the rise of the Mohammedan religion. Outside this narrow belt of high civilisation was a land of either quite primitive peoples or of a people at a lower stage of material and cultural development, just getting acquainted with metals. Europe and the Asian highland represented the latter people and many of the arts of the ancient people slowly penetrated these regions. The European people as a whole with the exception of the Romans and Greeks never shared in the active cultural intercourse of the ancient world. The primitives were hardly touched by these civilisations. They not only kept to their jungle fastness but, defying all armies, defended their region stoutly. The Vindhyatavi or the forests of Vindhya figure in Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanic literature as the stronghold of the primitive people, whose might was feared by all merchants who travelled always with an armed guard and even then fared ill at the hands of the robbing Bhil bands. The myths, legends and the material culture of the peoples of the plains penetrated these regions very slowly, there was an exchange of gods, a borrowing of dress and implements and even language by the primitive people. There are also stories of Kshatriyas and Brahmins marrying Nishada wives, and powerful kings seeking alliance of the primitive chieftains. So in the conflict which ensued, contact was limited and certainly not destructive. A very slow Hinduising of these tribes was going on over centuries. It was not a process in which there was all giving on one side and all borrowing on the other. Hinduism in its contact with primitive people gave much and received and made its own many elements of primitive thought. Certainly its attitude was never one of kindly condescension of a super-religion.

The third period of contact of races and their conflicts begins with the rise of monotheistic religions and reaches its peak after the Industrial Revolution of western Europe. 1500 years before Christianity, an Egyptian king by name Ikhnaton had tried to promulgate monotheism, but the attempt failed and the old world continued in its philosophical pantheism and practical polytheism. The Old Testament gives the social and cultural background in which Christianity rose. Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria had long lost their glory. Only small city kingdoms and principalities

governed by clan-chieftains remained at war with one another. Greece was also long past its glory and the imperial power of Rome was slowly losing its hold. Perhaps a sense of defeat and frustration pervaded the thinking minds of the day and a new religion was born which was destined to play a very fateful role in the destiny of humanity. The world as a battle-ground for the forces of light and darkness was an old idea formed in all ancient religions. The light was identified with the good and the darkness with the evil in a tacit way, but this identification became complete in the Christian religion. A new idea was the imputing of original sin to all humanity and another that there was but one God, the father of Christ, whose worship alone may save humanity. The Deity was enthroned on high and man could hope for salvation only by an act of mercy from above. In the Old Testament prophet after prophet in a truly Freudian atmosphere of obsession and hatred flung curses against all the peoples around in a way which has no parellel elsewhere. In the New Testament, the tone is milder but the gist is the same. The few chosen of God had therefore the duty to save mankind from its terrible doom by making them disciples of this newly found deity.

This religion had its birth among the most civilised nations of the world. It established itself at Rome and Constantinople and spread northwards. In the north of Europe it met a population which was almost primitive, which had not evolved an alphabet and which was divided into several powerful clans. Christianity took mankind from its terrible doom by making them disciples of this newly found deity.

This religion had its birth among the most civilised nations of the world. It established itself at Rome and Constantinople and spread northwards. In the north of Europe it met a population which was almost primitive, which had not evolved an alphabet and which was divided into several powerful clans. Christianity took a thousand years to win Europe. It worked as the unifying factor for Europe. The only cultural thread that binds Europe is Christianity because all cultural memories of pre-Christian days were lost until revived by recent researches. There is complete discontinuity between pre-Christian and Christian Europe and the breath of fresh wind which cleared the atmosphere of purely Christian dogma came not from the past of North and mid-Europe but from the revival of classical learning at the end of the Middle Ages. The great poets who described the lives of the heroes in simple beautiful language, the philosophers who discussed without any in-

hibition all ethical and philosophical problems in an atmosphere completely free from dogma, the sculptors who wrought immortal beauty in stone, men who dared question God's acts and lastly the free intercourse of gods and men must have come as a shock of surprise to the European of the Middle East. Yet classicism came too late and never reached the masses of Europe, who remained ignorant and bigoted. Christianity had spread in that quarter of the globe which happened to belong to white people. Christ was pictured as a white man with beard and the Virgin was a comely white maiden, either blonde or brunette. The Hindus had gods both black and white, but in Europe the religion became identified with one race and its aesthetic ideals. The chosen people thus came to belong not only to one religion but also to one race. The discovery of the steam engine, the steam ship and the long known use of gunpowder made these people infinitely superior to all others and they met the world with superior weapons of offence and without the classical understanding or sympathy for other human groups. It is the results of this encounter that we have to study.

The spread of Buddhism, a few centuries around the Christian era cannot be compared to the spread of Christianity in Europe. Buddhism spread in countries which were already civilised, like China, and through China into neighbouring countries, and Burma and Ceylon. These countries were already sharing to a great extent in the cultural life of the civilised belt. Buddhism did not proclaim a new god through its prophet; it was a way of life and a philosophy bordering on atheism. Whereas Christianity is purely sentimental, Buddhism in its dialectical method of discourse on ethical and philosophical matters and on religious practices reminds one of the best intellectual Greek tradition. It did not deliberately kill the traditional customs and mythologies of the people and took various shapes according to the land where it was accepted. Buddhism was a legitimate culmination of one branch of Hindu philosophcial thought and was native to the land of its birth, while Christianity, taking its rise in the East established itself among European barbarians and was one of the contributory causes that made the contract between Europe and the rest of the world so painful, with such harmful consequences to the latter.

The complete discontinuity with its own cultural past which characterises Europe also characterises Arabia and Egypt. A few centuries after the birth of Christ, another prophet in the same region announced another god as the only god and the new religion unlike Christianity spread rapidly in the land of its birth. The

Arabs had lived between two great civilisations, the Egyptian and the Babylonian, but had been completely untouched by the light of these. The great land routes of ancient trade passed through their country and it was their custom since the beginning of history to intercept and rob or hold to ransom richly laden caravans. Every now and then, in particularly bad years, they raided the surrounding plains for food and other booty. In the period when Mohammed taught, Egypt, Assyria, Crete and Greece had vanished and Rome was but a memory. There was thus no influence which could soften its fanaticism and it spread with an amazing rapidity in Asia Minor, Persia, south-eastern Europe and the countries north of India and Africa. It is extremely simple in its tenets, is not shackled by historical accretions. It is not too ascetic in its precepts for this world and its promise for the next is so tangible, and so concrete that even the most primitive people can understand it. From its very inception Mohammedanism has spread among the black and the brown, the europoid, the negroid and the mongoloid races and is thus singularly free from race prejudice. Its ban on any attempt to delineate God and his creatures has not wedded it to any particular aesthetic ideal of skin-colour, features or apparel. It spread without a highly organised and centralised institution like the Catholic Church. Having arisen among an intensely mobile and semi-nomadic people and having for its early followers the equally mobile steppe people of Asia, it burst on the fertile plains of India with the usual speed and fury which characterised these people. So had the Hyksos and Kassites and Huns burst on the peoples of the plain, but what were temporary robbing expedition in pre-Mohammedan times became religious wars, and the raider who put to sword the infidel got not only the booty of war in this world but glory in the next. Both Christianity and Mohammedanism had neither respect nor understanding for the cultures of other races. The world for the first time was dichotomised into the faithful and the infidel. The brotherhood of humanity became conditioned by the fatherhood of a particular God. Mohommedanism offers complete theoretical equality to all co-religionists but at the same time considers the rest of humanity as less than human and denies them even the primary right to live because to convert infidels is the first glory, and if they are not convertible to kill them is the second glory. Neither is this picture out of date ; even to-day to convert the whole world to Christianity is the dream of the Christian Church, to convert it to Mohammedanism is the dream of the Mohammedans. These two faiths have met and fought on the southern and eastern

borders of Europe and Mohammedanism had to retreat from most of Europe ; but what ground it lost there it made good elsewhere. It spread in Asia and Africa. It takes root in the soil and depends on native converts for supplying local priests and it has not been dependent on funds from Arabia to support its proseletysing outside. When Christianity equipped with modern weapons and modern means of exploitation started on its world conquest it met Mohammedanism as a powerful rival in Africa and Asia. Mohammedanism did not spread in the wake of world-exploiting capitalism and it did not unhinge the economic life of the people among whom it spread. It had no material or cultural advantage in knowledge and technology over the people it converted. Its contact with peoples was always in the nature of a violent impact. Among nomads, pastorals and primitive horticulturists and jungle folk it succeeded ; but among more civilised people, it called forth ultimately a bitter antagonism which gave rise to militant religious movements. These we shall have to study when we study India.

The Industrial Revolution and the subsequent uninterrupted advance in science and technology placed western Europe in a position of advantage as against the rest of the world, which is unparalleled in the history of the world. In Europe itself the transition from agricultural economy to a machine economy was an extremely painful process. A machine is an insatiable thing. It produces more than many artisans could do by the labour of their hands. It pays only if things are produced in large quantities and it requires labour to help keep up its production at a maximum. When the first factories opened, the landless labourer was attracted by steady wages. The activity of the factories threw out of employment many artisans and they were drawn in, the years of agricultural depression supplied still more. People came from different places and gathered together in wretched tenements in cities which grew overnight. In a village a man is brought up from his boyhood among a large kinship group and a still larger regional group, towards which his behaviour pattern is fixed by long tradition. His kinship group is his social security against misfortune and destitution. His regional group is the cultural environment in which his personality develops. His companions are almost hereditary, handed down from generations of neighbouring families. There are seasons of play and work and he shares his leisure and work with people whom he knows intimately. In group recreations he knows every person of the group. But it is all changed when he comes to a factory as a labourer. He is thrown together with people

he does not know; after a few generations he loses the kinship group he left behind and at least in the early stages there was absolutely no provision for a rainy day or accident and disability. He worked from morning till evening in one confined area, in the din of machinery, among men, with whom his only tie was the machine which employed them. One can imagine the hunger for a holiday, air, sunshine and recreation of these masses of men. Amusement was also therefore of a type where innumerable people could participate. On a village green everybody was a potential player in the football or cricket team. Everybody could take part in boxing, everybody could throw darts. The watcher was also potentially a player. The play activity was a vital part of the rural life. But in mass-enjoyment thousands of men could not participate activity in play and hence all modes of mass amusement are for the majority of people just passive enjoyment of watching others and vicariously sharing in the excitement of the active players. Whether it is boxing, or football or races, a mass of people are watching an infinitesimal number of active participants. The sharing in the game is vicarious. The illusion is carried still further in the Cinema. The same thing is watched by thousands and emotions are communicated from one to the other very quickly. It is an atmosphere where intellectual processes are at their lowest and the mind is receptive to every suggestion. This particular feature of machine-economy, which makes for collecting human beings in one place has been fully exploited by all politicians, boosters for commercial goods and religious preachers. Attitudes of racial antipathy or sympathy are fostered through this medium in a very subtle and efficient way. The wartime propaganda is crude but those on whose ears it falls are also crude and receptive. The peacetime propaganda, conscious or unconscious, goes on for a longer period and with far more substlety. Who does not know the cruel, crafty, unemotional oriental of the films and the fiction of Europe ? The hero is always a European, the suffering kidnapped heroine is always a European girl and the cruel villain is either an opium-eating Chinese, or a lascivious Indian Maharaja or the African Negro. Apart from the effects this has on non-Europeans, it has repercussions on the Europeans themselves.

The factory life which had torn the European from his rural moorings into a world of crowded tenements, long hours, attenuated family life and loss of all social security, was a life of frustration. Mass amusement, mass education and mass contact do not satisfy or make for a contended personality. It standardises peoples' dress,

food and thoughts but the personal frustrations bring out many who seek adventure, who seek to individualise themselves from the amorphous social background. These are the empire-builders, the insatiable tourists and the priests. These people, with a fanatical religion, a carefully fostered conception of race-superiority and with the possession of mechanised transport and long-range weapons met other races of the world. The effects of this contact are too well-known to need a lengthy description.

In olden times long caravans and cargo-ships took months to reach their destination. As everything was done by human hands the rate of production even with the help of slave labour was necessarily slow and the demand for raw materials was restricted. The machine accelerated the process of production and consumed raw material at a tremendous rate. As goods were produced, they could reach the commonest man and demand kept pace with production. At the same time European sailors were discovering distant lands rich in vegetable fats, fibres and corn. The economic possibilities of these lands for colonisation, for supply of raw material to the evergrowing demand of the home factories and for supply of unskilled labour were instantaneously apparent to the discoverers. Trading companies got possession of huge territories in a matter of a few days or hours from the native chiefs in exchange for paltry sums or by exterminating the natives—the latter process is called the opening up of new territory by pioneers, whose valorous fights with the native populations have formed the theme of many a film. In the land thus opened up, enthusiastic missionaries, with no better knowledge than their own dogma, set up missions to convert the native to whatever brand of Christianity they belonged to. The Industrial Revolution had brought about a collapse of the old social order and the creation of a new one in Europe. The process, though painful, was vaguely understood by the participants, and the factory labourers, by uniting together, are creating more acceptable conditions for themselves in a world, where the machine and the labourer have become the main features of life. But the native African, or Australian who was made to produce goods for a distant machine was thrown into a new economy which he could not comprehend at all. His labour, which supplied his own wants, was now employed for producing goods, the value of which fluctuated according to world trade, and was thus suddenly drawn into cycle of depression and prosperity. When he was found reluctant to work, not caring for the paltry wages and preferring to go naked, a tax was imposed on him for the right to live in his

own land. To pay this tax he had to seek employment. It has been shown by Lord Hailey, that his employment by whites just enables him to pay the tax and feed himself when working and that he has to go back to his preserve to work in his fields to supply his family with scanty food throughout the year. Chinese, Negroes and Indians were exported as indentured labourers to America, Trindad, the Malaya Peninsula and Africa. Torn from their own homes, from their cultural environment, without any rights in the land whose wealth they augment, they have become a world proletariat without home, without culture and without any future hope of bettering their material prospects.

The policy of ruthless extermination was soon given up for a more subtle economic exploitation. It was found out that the European could not live and work in the tropics, and the tropics could be exploited only through the original inhabitants under European supervision. The private companies were very soon abolished and their place taken by the regular government of the people, a step which was certainly progressive. A private company owed no duties to the people and the land it exploited. It used up the land and forest produce without any long-term policy, only with an eye to immediate gains. During famines it left the people to starve and if the policy had been pursued further, it might have shown diminishing returns. The governments, though they always placed the interest of the white manufacturer before the well-being of the native population, were yet responsible for a minimum of protection to the natives—sometimes the advances at home reflected themselves in native administration. The clergy who taught the native to read and to write also made him think and he became conscious of his human equality with the Europeans. Thus the Home government represented by the Colonial Office, the European administration on the spot and the clergy on the one hand and the nationally awakened native on the other are today engaged in culture-conflict where the native finds slight support now and then from a very weak Colonial Office and the still weaker clergyman.

The native administration in Canada and United States at the present date shows some concern for the good of the American Indians and the policy followed is one of help to the natives to solve their cultural and economic problems in their own way, the way being left open to them for a complete amalgamation with the American and Canadian life. They are allowed to keep up their group life, group leadership is encouraged and the Government

meets them as a group. But this policy has been only recently followed; before that there was a policy of atomising the American Indians. Communal ownership in land was discouraged, they were encouraged to sell land at attractive prices, or in some states, people married Indian maidens to get possession of land. The landless Indian very soon became part of the American proletariat. But this process has fortunately been stopped and the right of the Indians to order the life of their group has been recognised. As has been found out by anthropologists, a man torn from the group to which he naturally belongs is a lost soul without any possibility of evolving an integrated personality. The same relation of the individual and his group has been vividly described for the sophisticated American by Sinclair Lewis in his well known novel *Babbit*.

The only nations who could withstand the impact of Europeans to a certain extent are the Mohammedan peoples of Egypt and Asia Minor, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Burmese and the Indians. The first already possessed a fanatical creed which had crossed sword with Christianity and come out not too badly. Except for its retreat from Spain Mohammedanism held its original conquests. The missionaries did not feel it their duty to go to Egypt and the lands of the Middle East in their hundreds and apparently no women got the call to save the souls of these men. The commercial and political and strategical importance of these lands had parcelled it into spheres of English, French, and Russian influence. The rivalries of the European nations have given them opportunities to a kind of semi-independence and culturally they have maintained their age-old customs almost intact.

China and India have withstood the onslaught because of their immense populations and the weight of an unbroken literary tradition of over thirty centuries. For a people with developed languages, literature and alphabet it is easier to maintain historical traditions than for people without an alphabet. Among the latter the only means of transmitting the culture from one generation to another is through close contact of different generations, a well regulated group life and instruction by word and precept. When the primitive group life is undermined, the elders discredited and the children brought up in missionary schools, it takes but a generation or two to forget the past. That is what has happened to innumerable peoples of the South Seas. These lived in small islands, were always comparatively few in number and succumbed rapidly in spite of a very complicated social organisation and advanced material culture as the case of the Maoris shows,

Buddhist Burma, with its wide-spread literacy has also escaped cultural annihilation. Japan was the one nation which withstood European impact best, took up the European culture and built up a strong Asian power which has been, however, crushed in the most recent phase of fight between the East and the West. It would have been completely annihilated but it is needed by America as a check to Russia and it may therefore be allowed not only to live but to prosper once more.

The situation in Japan is paralleled by that in China where America and Russia are conducting a fight in foreign territory and measuring each other's strength. In Burma and India the interference of a second foreign power besides the English is not yet visible because unlike Japan and China both India and Burma were held firmly as dependencies by the British. It seems that the British are willing to grant India a certain amount of freedom and we may be tolerably sure that an independent national life can be built up by us if we understand the external and internal conflicts and steer a clear conscious course of national well-being.

With the end of the last war the third period of world conflicts has ended and we are entering on a new phase of the conflict of peoples. The machine development and the harnessing of natural power have gone on uninterrupted and have reached amazing heights. Yet there is no visible limit for further scientific research and release of energy for constructive or destructive purposes. Time and space have shrunk further and long-range weapons of destruction make every part of the earth vulnerable from any single point. The last war however has demonstrated how a mechanical army needs a tremendous number of semi-skilled soldiers, how useful it is to have as allies well populated countries which can manufacture all types of goods and how a subject nation, not fully equipped, is more a source of anxiety and danger than an asset. The conflict of nations has the same economic motive but is fought on an ideal plain. It is almost a religious fight without quarter for the infidel. Capitalism long established and hoary in practice with a historical growth of institutions is without any compact set of tenents or modes of attack. Communism has all the fervour and singleness of purpose of a new found religion and it has the same sacred mission to spread its message to all the exploited peoples of the earth. The conquest of peoples, countries and their resources shall not be through armies but through missionary propaganda and while capitalism has all the world's resources behind it, it is ponderous and full of evils which have grown with

its age and offers a thousand targets for communistic criticism. This fight is being fought with deadly earnest in China, has already flared up in Burma and is but temporarily quiet in India. We have to take it into consideration when we talk about new culture-conflicts and new orientations in India and Asia.

China likes to count besides the region inside the famous Chinese wall a vast region outside this wall as its own—as outlying provinces of China. This outer region comprises Tibet, Chinese Turkestan with its predominantly Mohammedan population, Outer Mongolia, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, all three inhabited by pastoral Mongol clans, whose chieftains claim relationship with Chenghis Khan. China's claim has never been submitted to by these provinces. Outer Mongolia, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria have never been conquered by China. The Mongols from the beginning of Chinese history have time and again swept over the fertile plains of China and established dynasties and principalities. When the conquering Mongol tribes settled down in China and absorbed Chinese civilisation, they feared the depredations of their northern brethren and one such king built the great Chinese wall which happens to be the first of the many futile walls like the famous Roman wall and the Maginot lines. The Chinese wall is not only a political but also a cultural boundary. The Chinese are agriculturists while the Mongols are pastorals. The Manchu which was the last dynasty of China belonged to the Mongol groups and the tie between China and Mongolia was through these kings who had not so much subjugated the whole of Mongolia as were acknowledged as joint kings by the Mongols. With their fall the link between China and Mongolia was virtually broken. None of the two Mongolias was either colonised or firmly governed by the Chinese Government. Outer Mongolia can no longer be counted as a Chinese province. China may make an ally of her but the chances seem rather remote to-day. Inner Mongolia also may be counted as lost. At the beginning of this century China started intensive colonisation of Manchuria. The historical process of Mongol infiltration was reversed. The great Wall is not only a political barricade but also a cultural boundary, the Chinese side inhabited by agricultural people and the Mongolian side by pastoral people. When the Chinese moved northwards into Manchuria they started agriculture and ploughed up the pastures of the Mongolian herds with the result that as the Chinese advanced the Mongols retreated northwards and westwards into Manchuria. Many representations to the Central Chinese Government fell on deaf ears

and when Japan took advantage of the situation the Chinese Government realised too late the mistake they had made in alienating the Mongols. Statistics show these lands as vast areas inhabited by a comparatively few people. There are possibilities for mining and agriculture and they look like natural outlets to China's overflowing millions. But the interests of an intensely agricultural community are always at variance with a pastoral people. Intensive agriculture can support a far greater number of people than pastoral economy. Herds of cattle and sheep require large land areas as pastures as the pastures must be used by rotation if they are to serve the community for a long time. As soon as land is put under a plough it is lost for pastures and the pastoral people are thus progressively dispossessed of their land. The first thing that Japan did was to demarcate clearly the provinces held by Chinese farmers in the south of Manchuria from the land still in possession of the Mongols and declared that no further inroads by agricultural people would be allowed into the latter. In setting up a king who was related to the Manchus to whom Mongols had owed an allegiance, the Japanese behaved in a statesmanlike manner. The king is deposed but it is doubtful if China can deem the Mongols as its nationals in future. Chinese Turkestan and Tibet have also a permanent quarrel with the Central Government and the ultimate shape of China will depend on whether it gives due recognition to the rights and traditions of these border people or whether it tries to suppress them with the aid of foreign arms.

This problem of culture-conflict or racial conflict faces to-day almost all the Asian nations. Once the pressure of the outside power is removed these conflicts are bound to flare up in intensity and the strength of the newly-won nationhood will depend on how far the internal conflicts are solved with wisdom and justice.

In its long history India was never united under a single political power before the advent of the British. The great rulers who had established empires from Asoka to Akbar or Aurangzeb, always held but a part of India under their sway with a fringe of turbulent semi-independent provinces continually revolting and continually being chastised. The unity of India has always been a cultural unity based on an uninterrupted literary and religious tradition of thousands of years. The learned Brahmin, to whatever region he belonged, read the Vedas, Brahmanas, Smritis—a literature which started about 4,000 years ago and which is being commented upon by generations of learned men from Patanjal in the second century upto Sayana in the fifteenth century.

Whether it was drama, or poetry or grammar or politics or logics or philosophy, whatever of excellence or mediocrity was created upto the threshold of this century owed its form and matter to classical or Vedic literature. This cultural continuity can be compared only with China. Europe, owing to the advent of Christianity, was dissociated with its own past and properly speaking its literary tradition begins with Christianity. The cultural unity of India is thus deeper, because much of what makes the culture has become folkways deeply ingrained into the lives of all the strata of society. Hinduism is not a religion as understood by the Westerners. It has no church, it has almost no dogma, it is a creation of historical growth and culture-contacts of centuries. It comprises description of gods, devotional literature, philosophical treatises. From the worship of a thousand spirits it goes to a pantheistic ideal, where the individual identifies himself with the ultimate reality. The pantheistic principle is not something reserved for the highly educated elite but has spread into the masses, and the farmer-saints of the Maratha country will be seen expounding the doctrine of the identity of the individual and the all-pervading reality in terms as logical and succinct as those used by the great Shankar in his commentary. This identity of self with God has enabled the Hindu to be on very friendly terms with all the other gods. He can joke at their queer appearance, he can comment on the irascible temper of Shiva, or the undisturbed equanimity of Vishnu. When disgusted with the inequalities of the world a modern poet calls on Shiva to destroy it in a last dance of destruction. In this atmosphere of intellectual freedom coupled with certain ritualistic stiffness, it was easy for the Indian mind to take eagerly to Western literature and especially Western Science. Nothing which Western Science taught went against his religion. It is this which has baffled Western scholars. Even such an astute philosopher as Hobhouse, comments on the fact that an Indian fully versed in Western literature and taking up Western dress, still worships at home his stones representing different gods. What he thinks as the height of crudity, is nothing but inherent in an intensly sophisticated polytheistic society. Each individual at different stages of life will give a different interpretation of Hinduism and each interpretation will be true. This individualisation of the religion and cultural tradition, and the wide choice of spiritual alternatives has made Hinduism at once vulnerable and unconquerable. In the intense political and cultural struggle with Mohammedanism this feature and the vastness of the country combined to enable Hindu India almost to re-conquer lost territory

politically and culturally from the rulers of Delhi. The superior technical equipment of the Western powers and the complete lack of political unification led to the political downfall of India and it has remained as a firmly held dependency for almost two centuries.

Mohammedanism had little to offer as regards arts of life or literature when it came in contact with India. It offered its religion at the point of the sword but soon realised that the method of conversion raised deep-rooted antagonisms and jeopardised the political ascendency and had to modify it. Its influence on the life and thought of the South has been very small, but it has affected the North to a considerable degree. The dress, the speech, the food and the mode and habits of eating of many a Northern community are to a great extent borrowed from the Mohammedans. Even the religious revivals can be understood only as a product of culture contact. Sikhism in its giving up of idol worship, has compromised with the tenents of Mohammed. So have all religious revivalistic sects in Northern India like the Arya Samaj, Brahmo-Samaj, Radha-Swami Cult and a host of others, though some of these later sects are also an incorporation of some Christian tenets. The Northern system of *Purdha* for women is entirely absent in the South and seems to be also a direct result of Mohammedan contact, though it seems that it may have originated among the Hindus of the North before the Mohammedan advent into India; however it reached its intensity during the Mohammedan rule.

The Mohammedans have been in India for about a thousand years. They created the first breach in the cultural unity of India. Though they have become an indigenous element, their religious centre is outside India and their co-religionists have spread all over the world. The growing strength of Mohammedan power in Asia Minor is looked upon as personal acquisition of power by Indian Mohammedans. As Asia Minor is to-day a field of contention between England, America and Russia, the Mohammedan powers are in a good bargaining position. The advantages of this peculiar international position are also reaped by the Indian Muslims. This consciousness of solidarity with outside Muslims, the peculiar regional distribution which makes it possible for the extreme north and northwest to form a majority province, and religious fanaticism which sets at nought all human values arising out of a thousand years of association, make it almost impossible to arrive at cultural compromise with this element in the Indian population. They neither respect nor understand the religious, ethical or aesthetic creations of other people. The beautiful temples which it had taken

centuries to build they have defaced whereever they could not raze them to the ground. They have left terror and destruction in their wake in historical times. Classical Sanskrit literature has remained a closed book to them. There was a time when in some linguistic areas, for example Bengal, the Muslims kept to their dress, language and customs of pre-conversion days and it seemed as if the Bengal culture of future would be a common creation of its Muslim and Hindu inhabitants. But the process has been cut short by recent orientation in Muslim policy in India which wants to stress its differences from the other communities rather than the adjustments which have arisen out of a common life in the same land. This racial conflict has got to be solved not by cultural compromises or by paying too big a price for presenting a united front to the World. The situation must be solved on some general principles of ethics, justice and humanity. In the present world a minority possesses a bargaining power quite disproportionate to its numbers and giving in as a matter of expediency, instead of leading to a permanent solution, merely makes one party ask for more. Under the spacious name of the unity of India we must not forget the historical facts or the present situation. India was politically one only as a slave nation under a foreign power during its long history of four thousand years. If it can be united as a strong nation, the unity is worth attaining; but if it is merely a nominal unity in which none of the two partners can trust the other, it is better to acknowledge, the fact and try to fix cultural boundaries on an equitable basis. If the Muslims cannot brook the majority of Hindus to swamp them, neither can the Hindu minorities in Muslim regions. If we accept the principle of cultural autonomy it is best to carry it to its logical conclusion as Russia has done for the cultural regions within the frame-work of the USSR. And for this a complete re-orientation and reformation of the present provinces is necessary. Cultural conflicts cannot be solved on a purely political basis of day-to-day compromise or balance of power between different parties. It must be faced and solved on certain principles which, if once accepted, must be carried to their logical conclusion. To deny cultural difference, to impute racial conflict solely to the interference of a third party is deliberately to refuse to face facts and if we start the foundations of our independence on lack of courage and fear of disintegration we cannot hope for a strong contented national life.

The existence of cultural linguistic regions brings us to an aspect of Indian geography and history which is rife with possibili-

ties of cultural conflict inspite of a general cultural synthesis. India possesses many separate linguistic regions, where vast populations speak allied but distinct languages. The Dravidian region has languages which are not allied linguistically with the languages of the North, though it is thoroughly imbued with the Vedic-Brahmanic religion and is distinguished by scholarship in and love for the Sanskrit language. Every one of these regions has a literary tradition of almost a thousand years and Modern Indian languages had already much written literature to their credit before Chaucer wrote in England. They had also a strong sense of unity with those who spoke their language, and preferred it to other regions. We have the instance of the Mahanubhav spiritual head, who advised his deciples to go only as far as the Marathi language endured. We have the Vishva-Darshan Champu in Sanskrit which describes the people of India with their different languages, speech habits and marriage and other customs. Ramdas advises for a unity of the Marathas and Ramchandra Amatya, the chief minister of Shivaji has left behind a conception of Maharashtra which in the beauty of its diction and the loftiness of its ideal is counted among the finest legacies of Marathi literature. These linguistic regions had their dynasties and sometimes when a part of a linguistic region was under a foreign ruler it was made an excuse for war. Each linguistic province has an ancient name, which without too much modification, can be applied to it even to-day. When the British conquered India they went on making administrative units called provinces of land, as it was conquered or otherwise acquired, without any regard to the cultural regions. In the North the provinces have some resemblance to cultural unities but in the South the sins unconsciously committed have been very grave. The Bombay Presidency was made up of a narrow strip, which comprised from north to south Sindh, Gujrat, Marathi districts and Kannada districts. Fortunately Sind has been separated and made into a province but the other three remain together eternally quarrelling and eternally jealous one of the other. If these cultural regions were so small that they had to be united to make one economic and political unit, one could bear it as a matter of necessity but actually great portions of Gujrat, Maratha Country and Karnatak lie outside of Bombay Presidency and each united with its own people would make a large and homogeneous province. Some portions of these provinces are under the States and people have to suffer great injustice and hardships as they are not allowed to study in their own language or develop its literature. Every department of cultural and political life is poisoned by these

rivalries and parties and rival groups are formed on the principle of enemity to the neighbour and friendship with the neighbour's neighbour. Every appointment is jealously watched as to what region it is awarded and motives and nepotism are imputed where there may be none in existence. Provincial rivalries are bound to be reflected in Federal appointments, but their unnecessary and harmful continuance in the conglomerate provinces is an evil which must be remedied at once. In federating India there are two alternatives as regards the linguistic regions. One following the US policy, a complete negation of provincial languages and culture and a policy of amalgamating all into one linguistic whole. The other is of laying down certain principles of political ideal for all federating states and recognising them as cultural entities fully entitled to shape their cultural life within the prescribed political frame. Indian linguistic regions can have no analogy with the USA states. The humanity which poured into America and to which America allows entrance is uprooted from its historical and cultural context and from its kingship group. It generally came as small isolated groups persecuted on religious grounds, or to seek better economic opportunities. The language of the early colonisers and the majority group happened to be English. The USA was governed by English governors until its independence and so English became also the language of the new nation. But recent studies have revealed the obstinacy with which certain groups hold to their old tradition and language. The old Amish is an outstanding example of one such community. The German population is large and prosperous enough to have its own schools and newspapers and the Dutch, the Norwegians, the Italian and other groups keep to their language besides learning the official language of the land. The Indian linguistic regions are really nations with deep roots in the soil, and pride in regional cultures or achievements must not be dubbed as narrow provincialism. A Gujrati taking pride in the achievements of Gujrat or a Maratha priding in the Maratha history cannot be compared with the rival spirit exhibited say by a Berliner and a Munchener or a Yorkshireman and an inhabitant of Kent. The regional unit is large enough and old enough to be called a nation. Neither is this pride at variance with the loyalty due to the newly found unity of all India. For the majority of people in a region, the region shall provide a sufficient and satisfying field for cultural activity with the federal state as the larger background. The language of the region is entirely enough for the majority of people while Hindi, the federal language can be studied with enthusiasm by people who wish to

have inter-provincial contact or enter the Federal services. One of the most urgent problems of India is to enhance literacy and it can be better tackled through regional languages than by making Hindi compulsory to all people in India. There is not even any unanimity about the form of Hindi which is to be taught. For the sake of propaganda it is assumed that all the language groups whose mother-language is derived from Sanskrit can be easily understood. The contention is absolutely right with reference to Hindi. A well educated Marathi or a Gujrati person, well versed in his own language can read and understand even Tulsidas; Ramayan but for these same people it is not possible to understand beyond a few words here and there the kind of language which goes under the name of Hindustani. In the South the Hindustani tongue is not understood at all as both the Urdu and Hindi elements are foreign to the people there. When a child begins to imbibe the culture of its land through the written word, no effort is needed to grasp the meaning of the word as it is already learnt in daily speech. New words are learnt in the context of the old and the joy in reading increases. This natural process is retarded when a child has compulsorily to learn a foreign language. By the time it is big enough to read quite advanced things, the foreign language keeps him at the level of nursery tales owing to the difficulties of vocabulary. The whole education is thus retarded. This is the case of city-bred children who are otherwise precocious. There would be much greater difficulties in the case of the rural population. There is thus a necessity to realise the entity of the regions and restore them to unified provinces with their own languages and culture within the larger political unity of India. A recognition of this fact will lead to harmonious and culturally homogeneous units ready to co-operate to build up the glory of the state, a refusal to recognise this for the sake of political expediency will lead to a prolonged cultural conflict, small-mindedness and bickering.

There is yet another conflict within the Hindu society of which cognisance must be taken. The Hindu society is a growth of a very long historical process. It has never been a completely homogeneous society. It has allowed racial and cultural elements to live side by side until they fuse in the ripeness of time. But this process of fusion has stopped almost completely for over fifteen hundred years. The days when Hindu society could completely amalgamate foreigners like the Ionian Greeks. Bactrians and Huns is long past. The various racial and folk elements are allowed to live together as separate and almost autonomous units. The status

of these units has been fixed and unchangeable. The status of a man, the work he shall do, the persons he may marry are all fixed by the accident of birth and does not depend at all on his personal aptitude or ability. These are the castes and sub-castes of India. People belonging to different castes live in the same village, may unite in economic pursuits but live worlds apart in complete social isolation. Each has its caste council, which tries people for petty offences, levies marriage fees, arranges for cremations and caste dinners. The question of racial conflict would not arise at all if people accepted the status of their caste and if uncomfortable doctrines like human equality in this world did not come along with democratic forms of Government. There is a complete heirarchy of castes from the Brahmins to the untouchables. The latter are people who have barely the right to live but they must not approach too near a man of a higher caste and their very touch is pollution. There have been indigenous attempts at removing the evil of the caste system but all the pre-British attempts proved futile except as regards a few higher castes. The British rule did not set out to destroy the caste system, on the other hand through certain new and invidious distinctions like the martial and non-martial races it created some new non-existent castes. The British, however, brought certain new things with them. For the first time the same opportunity was offered to every man to study in the same institution if he could afford to pay for it. The Railway made no distinction among people who travelled except on the basis of the money paid. The same law applied to all without any reservations. The untouchables were the first to agree to serve as servants in European households. They were the first to get converted to Christianity and the realisation of the change in their status must have come as God's revelation to thousands of these people. With the spread of education they learnt the lesson of uniting and the bargaining power which a united minority possesses in a democratic constitution where they possessed a vote for the first time. The national struggle for freedom soon brought the realisation in the minds of leaders that the invidious injustices of the caste system must vanish before Hindus can fight as a united people against a foreign power. Some attempts, at the removal of caste distinctions and especially of untouchability were genuine while others were due to the political expediency. At first the untouchables accepted as leaders and almost as saviours those persons of higher rank who advocated their equality with others, who dined with them and who allowed them entrance to their

houses. This leadership, however, in the natural course passed to people born as untouchables and who had got their education under great difficulties. Just as a white missionary can never be the leader of the Negroes or Indians or just as a capitalist can never be a labour-leader, so also the leadership of persons of other castes was never felt as genuine leadership by the untouchables. Men born in the same lowly position as they, men who had felt in a thousand ways in their daily intercourse with others the contempt of other castes and had risen above all these social handicaps by their ability are the natural leaders of these groups. The whole caste feels proud in the achievement of such individuals and loyally follows them as a group. If Hindus wish genuinely to bring up the untouchables to the ideal of social equality they must realise the above fact and give due respect and consideration to these natural leaders. Unfortunately however, the caste Hindus have followed another path. They have chosen as leaders and representatives not those who have the support and confidence of the majority of their group but those who are acceptable to the caste Hindus. Such people in order to be acceptable must please the caste Hindus, rather than their own people. These must show sweet reasonableness in their demands, only a mild disapproval of Hindu practices and accept the leadership of the caste Hindus. Those dissatisfied with this arrangement have sought alliance with other minorities like the Muslim League. It is a great pity that this whole question should not have been considered from the point of view of righting the aweful wrong and meeting the untouchables as a group and accepting as their mouthpiece people who enjoy their confidence. Instead of that they are dragged into the vortex of party politics where their mediocre men alone can come forward as stooges of the contending parties and where their real leaders have to take a back-place. The first nationalist government has worked more as a party-government rather than as a government anxious to build up a nation of all social elements working in harmony. The castes who are traditionally given a lower status need a special treatment not only as regards educational and other facilities but also as a genuine whole-hearted recognition of them as groups and acceptance of their leaders on terms of complete equality.

Another and similar aspect of Hindu Society which has given rise to a great deal of literature in recent times is the position of the primitive peoples in the future national government of India. The primitive people do not form a problem which is different in

kind from the economic and educational problem of the rest of illiterate India. Almost nowhere except perhaps in the distant Assam hills have the primitives remained untouched from the stream of civilised life going around them. For their daily needs they are dependent on the produce of the farmer and exchange the goods of the forest for it. They have been aptly termed as dependent hunters by Ginsberg. It may not be possible for them to live entirely on hunting if their association with the agricultural people was completely broken. Their dress, their language and their social institutions including kinship usages are not different from those of the surrounding population. I especially stress this fact, as almost everyone of their usage can be shown in existence to-day among the agricultural castes in the Maratha and Telugu country. They have borrowed much from the surrounding population including their language, myth and legend. This however does not mean that they should not receive greater care and protection from the Government. Their ignorance has been abused and exploited by money lenders and rich farmers but one must remember history. Before the advent of the British power they were strong in jungle remotness. They were daring robbers and no Government was strong enough to put a stop to their onslaughts on the low-land farmers. They had their dynasties and kingdoms, they fought bravely and copied the arts and crafts of the Hindu kingdoms as the remains of Gond kingdoms show. Their continued exploitation commenced after the firm establishment of the British rule. The money lender entered their fastness secure in the protection of the British police which avenged every murder. In fact one of the first things that the British rule did was to suppress the robber bands of Bhils, Gonds, Kolis and Hatkar Dhangars in the Vindhya, Aravali, Satpura and Sahyadri ranges. The exploiter was secure from the vengeance of the people. To the money-lender was added the excise officer and traders in spirits and the forest ranger with his forest-guards. It became easy for the farmers to expand the limits of his cultivation and gradually make incursions into the forest lands but latterly these have been stopped by the Government. To the misery of semi-starvation was added drunkenness. The Government have done nothing against the latter. During the last war Bhils, Karus, and other forest tribes earned very good money at the timber depots but the larger portion was spent in drink orgies at Government toddy and liquor shops. We have no right to preserve these people as museum pieces for the sophisticated urban people tired

monetarily of the civilisation of the city. Neither have we the right to exhibit their half-naked photographs in pristine simplicity for eyes grown tired with the sophisticated beauties of the great cities. A constructive policy which will give them enough employment, sufficient food and shelter, efficient hygienic service and adequate education are their crying needs as are also those of the illiterate mass of the Indian population. These primitive people should be treated as groups, group leadership should be fostered and one day they will take their place as citizens of India on terms of absolute equality with the rest.

That in short is the picture of existent and possible racial conflicts within India. We have now to consider the relations of Asian nations with one another. Representatives of Asian nations have met before in ancient times in learned assemblies to discuss religious dogma; but I believe it is for the first time that Asian nations conscious of their nationhood have come together. If the bond that brings them together is the common yoke of western powers it is an impermanent principle for mutual co-operation. There must be some deeper identity of interests and purposes and certainly there must be a lack of racial conflicts. China, Japan, India and Burma, Java and Ceylon have many cultural similarities and share to a large extent in the historical continuity of the civilisations of the past. It is hoped that in the new era of rising nationalism they will keep the catholicity and tolerance of the ancient world. All Asian nations have taken to party politics and are just now engaged in a war of extermination with their own people who differ from the creed professed by the party in power. We have all borrowed the ideas of dictatorship, party discipline and party propaganda and are ruling with the help of laws which would be hailed as intolerable under a foreign power. This cannot be the cultural ideal of a newly freed people and we hope that this is an assembly representing the peoples of Asia with a genuine desire to lead a common life of corporate endeavour in an atmosphere of freedom of speech and movement. There should be neither cultural, nor religious nor political coercion. There are countries with a permanent need for an outlet for their populations, there are others who need immigration for development of their resources. But those who go out to settle in other countries can go neither as mere temporary labourers nor as exploiters who intend to return with the fortunes amassed in foreign lands. Those who want people to come and settle may stipulate that they come to make permanent homes, shall become citizens of the new state

and ultimately fuse completely with the population of their new home. In Burma Indians are not much liked, not because they were Indians but because they aped the manners of their white masters, behaved contemptuously with the Burmans and generally gave the impression of being second degree exploiters. The training in the caste system which has kept them aloof from their own people at home has kept them aloof from the Burmese in Burma and the Malays in Malaya and this fact has been taken advantage of by the Western powers to create dissatisfaction and hatred for Indians in these lands. The Asian nations will have to agree on a population policy if racial discord is to be avoided in future.

As Asians we have a common belief in the dignity of human beings. We do not brand man with an original sin from which he needs redemption. While our philosophy has been perfect as regards the individual men, we have neglected to give our thought to the salvation of men in Society. Given the spirit of tolerance and understanding and the fearless logic of the ancient times it is possible to build up a common basis for co-operative and fruitful union of Asian nations. However in order to achieve that each nation must first solve with wisdom and forbearance the cultural conflicts at home. This can be done if we give up the hollow imitation of Western power politics, cease to pay mere lip service to the ideal of the welfare of masses and strive courageously to destroy the profiteer and the Blusterer. While trying to industrialise our nations we need not commit all the mistakes of Western capitalism which has created racial conflicts far bitterer and cleavages far deeper than any in the history of mankind.

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